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THE TUDOR TRANSLATIONS

EDITED BY

W. E. HENLEY

VII

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PLUTARCH'S

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

GRECIANS AND ROMANS

ENGLISHED BY

SIR THOMAS NORTH

ANNO 1579

With an Introduction by

GEORGE WYNDHAM

FIRST VOLUME

LONDON

Published by DAVID NUTT

IN THE STRAND

1895

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

THIS TRANSFIGURATION

IN UNFADING ENGLISH OF

AN IMMORTAL BOOK

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INTRODUCTION

I

LUTARCH was born at the little Theban town of Chæronea, somewhere about 50 A.D. The date of his birth marks no epoch in history; and the place of it, even then, was remembered only as the field of three bygone battles. The name Chæronea, cropping up in conversation at Rome, for the birthplace of a distinguished Greek lecturer, must have sounded strangely familiar in the ears of the educated Romans whom he taught, even as the name of Dreux, or of Tewkesbury, sounds strangely familiar in our own. But apart from such chance encounters, few can have been aware of its municipal existence; and this same contrast, between the importance and the renown of Plutarch's birthplace, held in the case of his country also. The Bœotian plain—once 'the scaffold of Mars where he held his games'[1]—was but a lonely sheepwalk; even as all Greece, once a Europe of several States, was but one, and perhaps the poorest, among the many provinces of the Empire. Born at such a time and in such a place, Plutarch was still a patriot, a student of politics, and a scholar, and was therefore bound by every tie of sentiment and learning to the ancient memories of his native land. Sometimes he brooded over her altered fortunes. Bœotia 'heretofore of old time resounded and 'rung again with Oracles'; but now all the land that from

Plutarch and Plutarch's Greece

[1] Ἄρεως ὀρχήστραν. (*Marcellus*, 21.) This contrast has been noted by R. C. Trench, D.D., in his *Plutarch. Five Lectures*, 1874. An admirable volume full of suggestion.

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INTRODUCTION

sea to sea had echoed the clash of arms and the cadence of oratory was 'mute or altogether desolate and forlorn': . . . 'hardly able' he goes on, 'to make three thousand 'men for the wars, which are now no more in number 'than one city in times past, to wit: Megara, set forth 'and sent to the battle of Platæa.'[1] At Athens, though Sulla had long since cut down the woods of the Academy, there were still philosophers; and there were merchants again at Corinth, rebuilded by Julius Cæsar. But Athens, even, and a century before, could furnish only three ships for the succour of Pompey; while elsewhere, the cities of Greece had dwindled to villages, and the villages had vanished. 'The stately and sumptuous buildings which 'Pericles made to be built in the cittie of Athens' were still standing after four hundred years, untouched by Time, but they were the sole remaining evidence of dignity. So that Plutarch, when he set himself to write of Greek worthies, found his material selected to his hand. Greek rhetoricians, himself among them, might lecture in every city of the South; but of Greek soldiers and statesmen there was not one in a land left empty and silent, save for the statues of gods and the renown of great men. The cradle of war and statecraft was become a memory dear to him, and ever evoked by his personal contact with the triumphs of Rome. From this contrast flowed his inspiration for the *Parallel Lives*: his desire, as a man, to draw the noble Grecians, long since dead, a little nearer to the noonday of the living; his delight, as an artist, in setting the noble Romans, whose names were in every mouth, a little further into the twilight of a more ancient romance. By placing them side by side, he gave back to the Greeks that touch which they had lost with the living in the death of Greece, and to the Romans that distinction from everyday life which they were fast beginning to lose. Then and ever since, an imaginative effort was needed to restore to Greece those trivialities of daily life which, in other countries, an imaginative effort is needed to destroy; and hence her

His Athens and his Corinth

His Inspiration

[1] *Plutarch's Morals.* Philemon Holland, 1657, p. 1078, in a letter addressed to Terentius Priscus, 'On oracles that have ceased to give answers.'

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hold on the imagination of every age. Plutarch, considering his country, found her a solitude. Yet for him the desert air was vibrant with a rumour of the mighty dead. Their memories loomed heroic and tremendous, through the dimness of the past; and he carried them with him when he went to Rome, partly on a political errand, and partly to deliver Greek lectures. INTRODUCTION

In Juvenal's 'Greek city' he needed, and indeed he had, small Latin. 'I had no leisure to study and exercise the 'Latin tongue, as well for the great business I had then to 'do, as also to satisfy them that came to learn philosophy of 'me': thus, looking back from Chæronea, does he write in his preface to the *Demosthenes and Cicero*, adding that he 'understood not matters so much by words, as he came to 'understand words by common experience and knowledge he 'had in things.' We gather that he wrote many, if not all, of the *Lives* at his birthplace, the 'poor little town' to which he returned: 'remaining there willingly lest it should 'become less.' But it was in Flavian Rome, in the 'great 'and famous city thoroughly inhabited' and containing 'plenty 'of all sorts of books,' that, having taken upon him to write 'a history into which he must thrust many strange things 'unknown to his country,' he gathered his materials 'out of 'divers books and authorities,' or picked them up, as a part of 'common experience and knowledge,' in familiar converse with the cultured of his day. I have quoted thus, for the light the passage throws on the nature of his researches in Rome, although the word 'history' may mislead. For his purpose was not to write histories, even of individuals. He tells us so himself. 'I will only desire the reader,' he writes in his preface to the *Alexander and Cæsar*, 'not to blame me 'though I do not declare all things at large . . . for they 'must remember that my intent is not to write histories but 'only lives. For the noblest deeds,' he goes on, 'do not 'always shew man's virtues and vices, but oftentimes a light 'occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispo-'sitions and manners appear more plainly than the famous 'battles won, wherein are slain ten thousand men.' As 'painters do take the resemblance of the face and favour

In Flavian Rome

His Purpose

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'of the countenance,' making 'no accompt of other parts of 'the body,' so he, too, asks for 'leave to seek out the signs 'and tokens of the mind only.' That was his ambition: to paint a gallery of portraits; to focus his vision on the spiritual face of his every subject, and for every Greek to hang a Roman at his side. To compass it, he set himself deliberately, as an artist, unconscious of any intention other than the choice of good subjects and, his choice once made, the rejection from each of all but the particular and the significant. He stood before men's souls to study 'the 'singularity each possessed,'[1] as Velasquez in a later age before men's bodies; and, even as his method was allied, so was his measure of accomplishment not less.

His Effect

But the *Parallel Lives* shows something different from this purpose, is something more than a gallery of portraits hung in pairs. Plutarch stands by his profession. His immediate concern is with neither history nor politics, but with the 'disposition and manners' of the great. He chooses his man, and then he paints his picture, with a master's choice of the essential. And yet, inasmuch as he chooses every subject as a matter of course on political grounds—as he sees all men in the State—it follows that his gallery is found, for all his avowed intention, to consist of political portraits alone. Thirteen, indeed, of his sitters belong not only to history but also to one chapter of history—a chapter short, dramatic, bloody, and distinctly political. This was the chance. When Plutarch, the lecturer, dropped into Roman society fresh from the contemplation of Greece 'depopulate 'and dispeopled,' he found its members spending their ample leisure in academic debate. After more than a hundred years they were still discussing the protagonists in that greatest of political dramas which, 'for a sumptuous 'conclusion to a stately tragedy,' had ushered in the empire of the world. Predisposed by contrast of origin and affinity of taste, he threw himself keenly into their pastime, and he gives, by the way, some minute references to points at issue. For instance, when Pompey and the Senate had deserted Italy at Cæsar's approach, a

Some of his Sources

[1] *Paulus Æmilius.*

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stern-chase of ships and swords had swept round three continents, and thereon had followed a campaign of words and pens at Rome. In that campaign the chief attack and reply had been Cicero's *Cato* and Cæsar's *Anticaton*; and these, he tells us,[1] had 'favourers unto his day, 'some defending the one for the love they bare Cæsar, 'and others allowing the other for Cato's sake.' We gather that he and his Roman friends argued of these matters over the dinner-table and in the lecture-halls, even as men argue to-day of the actors in the French Revolution. Now, to glance at the 'Table of the Noble Grecians and Romanes' is to see how profoundly this atmosphere affected his selection of Roman lives. For, excluding the legendary founders and defenders, with the Emperors Galba and Otho (whose lives are interpolations from elsewhere), we find that thirteen of the nineteen left were party chiefs in the constitutional struggles which ended on the fields of Pharsalia and Philippi. The effect on the general cast of the *Lives* has been so momentous that a whole quarter covers only the political action which these thirteen politicians crowded into less than one hundred years. The society of idlers, which received Plutarch at Rome, was still debating the ideals for which these thirteen men had fought and died; it was therefore inevitable that, in seeking for foreign parallels, he should have found almost as many as he needed among the actors in that single drama. As it was, he chose for his greater portraitures all the chief actors, and a whole army of subsidiary characters for his groups in the middle distance: as Saturninus and Cinna from one act, Clodius and Curio from another. Nothing is wanting. You have the prologue of the Gracchi, the epilogue of Antony, and between the play from the triumph of Marius to Brutus in his despair: 'looking up to the firmament that was full of stars,' and 'sighing' over a cause lost for ever. And yet it remains true that Plutarch did not make this selection from—or rather this clean sweep of—the politicians of a certain epoch in order to illustrate that epoch's history, still less to criticise any theory of constitutional government. The remaining

His Roman *Lives*

[1] *Cæsar.*

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Romans, howbeit engaged in several issues, and the Greeks, though gathered from many ages and many cities, are all politicians, or, being orators and captains, are still in the same way chosen each for his influence on the fortunes of a State. But they were not consciously chosen to illustrate history or to discuss politics. Thanks, not to a point of view peculiar to Plutarch but to an instinct pervading the world in which he lived, to a prepossession then so universal that he is never conscious of its influence on his aim, they are all public men. For himself, he was painting individual character; and he sought it among men bearing a personal stamp. But he never sought it in a private person or a comedian; nor even in a poet or a master of the Fine Arts. To look for distinction in such a quarter never occurred to him; could never, I may say, have entered his head. He cannot conceive that any young 'gentleman nobly born' should so much as wish to be Phidias or Polycletus or Anacreon;[1] and this from no vulgar contempt for the making of beautiful things, nor any mean reverence for noble birth, but because, over and above the making of beautiful things, there are deeds that are better worth the doing, and because men of noble birth are freer than others to choose what deeds they will set themselves to do. Why, then, he seems to ask, should they seek any service less noble than the service of their countrymen? why pursue any ambition less exalted than the salvation of their State? For his part, he will prefer Lycurgus before Plato; for, while the one 'stablished and left behind him' a constitution, the other left behind him only 'words and written 'books.'[2] His preference seems a strange one now; but it deserves to be noted the more nearly for its strangeness. At any rate, it was the preference of a patriot and a republican, whose country had sunk to a simple province under an alien Emperor, and it governed the whole range of Plutarch's choice.

His Principle of Selection

This result has been rendered the more conspicuous by another cause, springing at first from an accident, but in

[1] Preface to *Pericles*. [2] *Lycurgus*.

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its application influenced by the political quality of Plutarch's material. Lost sight of and scattered in the Dark Ages, the Parallel Lives were recovered and rearranged at the revival of learning. But just as a gallery of historical portraits, being dispersed and re-collected, will in all probability be hung after some chronological scheme, so have the lives been shuffled anew under the influence of their political extraction, in such a sort as to change not only the complexion but also the structure of Plutarch's design. They form no longer a gallery of political portraits, hung in pairs for contrast's sake: they are grouped with intelligible reference to the history of Athens and of Rome. We know from Plutarch's own statements that he had no hand in their present arrangement. He was engrossed in depicting the characters of great men, and he wrote and dedicated each pair of lives to Socius Senecio, or another, as an independent 'book,' 'treaty,' or 'volume.' It is clear from many passages that he gathered these 'volumes' together without reference to their political bearing on each other. The *Pericles and Fabius Maximus*, which is now the Fifth 'book,' was originally the Tenth; and the change has apparently been made to bring Pericles, so far as the Greeks are concerned, within the consecutive history of Athens: just as the *Demosthenes and Cicero*, once the Fifth, is now by much removed so that Cicero may fall into place among the actors of the Roman drama. So, too, the *Theseus*, now standing First, as the founder of Athens, was written after the *Demosthenes*, now set well-nigh at the end of the series. And on the same grounds, evidently, to the *Marius* and the *Pompey*, written respectively after the *Cæsar* and the *Brutus*, there have been given such positions as were dictated by the development of the drama. The fact is, Plutarch's materials, being all political, have settled of themselves, and have been sorted in accordance with their political nature: until his work, pieced together by humanists and rearranged by translators, bears within it some such traces of a new symmetry, imperfect yet complex, as we detect in the stratification of crystalline rocks. Little has been added in North's first edition to

The New Symmetry of his Book a Result of Rearrangement

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INTRO-DUCTION

the substance of Plutarch's book;[1] but its structure and, as I hope to show, some of its colour and surface are the product, not only of the one mind which created it but, of the many who have preserved it, and of the ages it has outworn. The mere changes in the order of the 'books' have neither increased nor diminished their contents; but by evolving, as they do, a more or less symmetrical juxtaposition of certain elements, they have discovered the extent to which the work is permeated by those elements. As the quartz dispersed through a rock strikes the eye, when it is crystallised, from the angles of its spar; so the amount of Plutarch's political teaching, which might have escaped notice when it was scattered through independent books, now flashes out from the grouping together of the Athenians who made and unmade Athens, and of the Romans who fought for and against the Republican Constitution of Rome. For the Parallel Lives are now disposed in a rough chronological order; in so far, at least, as this has been possible where the members of each pair belong severally to nations whose histories mingle for the first time, when the activity of the one ceases and the activity of the other begins. In earlier days they had but dim intimations of each other's fortunes: as when, in the *Camillus*, 'the rumour ran to Greece incon-'tinently that Rome was taken'; and it is only in the *Philopœmen and Flaminius* that their fates are trained into a single channel. So that, rather, there are balance and opposition between the two halves of the whole: the latter portion being governed by the grouping in dramatic sequence of the thirteen Romans who took part in the constitutional drama of Rome; whereas the earlier is as it were polarised about the history of Athens. Considering the governing lives in each case, and disregarding their accidental companions, you will find that in both the whole pageant is displayed. There are excursions, but in the latter half we live at Rome; in the earlier we are taken to Athens: there

The *Parallel Lives* a Book of the Politics of Greece and Rome

[1] In North's edition of 1579 all is Plutarch, through Amyot, excepting the *Annibal* and the *Scipio African*, which were manufactured by Donato Acciaiuoli for the Latin translation of the *Lives* published at Rome by Campani in 1470.

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INTRO-DUCTION

to be spectators of her rise, her glory, and her fall. We listen to the prologue in the *Solon*; and in the *Themistocles*, the *Pericles*, the *Alcibiades*, we contemplate the three acts of the tragedy. The tragedy of Athens, the drama of Rome: these are the historic poles of the *Parallel Lives*; while, about half-way between, in the book of *Philopœmen and Flaminius*, is the historic hinge, at the fusion of Greek with Roman story. For Philopœmen and Flaminius were contemporaries: the one a Greek whom 'Greece did love passingly well as the last valiant man she brought forth in her age'; the other, a Roman whom she loved also, Plutarch tells us, because, in founding the suzerainty of Rome, he founded it on the broad stone of honour. In this book the balance of sustained interest shifts, and after it the Lives are governed to the end by the development of the single Roman drama. We may say to the end: since Plutarch may truly be said to end with the suicide of Brutus. The *Aratus*, though of vivid and, with the *Sylla*, of unique interest—for both are based on autobiographies[1]—belongs, it is thought, to another book.[2] This, I have already said, is true of the *Galba* and the *Otho*, dissevered as they are by the obvious division of a continuous narrative; and of the *Artaxerxes*, which, of course, has nothing to do among the Greek and Roman lives; while the *Hannibal and Scipio* (major), included by North, is not even Plutarch. These lives, then, were added, no doubt, to complete the defect of those that had been lost; as, for instance, the *Metellus* promised by Plutarch in his *Marius*, and the book of *Epaminondas and Scipio* (minor), which we know him to have written, on the authority of his son.

Additions and Omissions

If, then, ignoring these accretions, we study the physiognomy of the *Parallel Lives* as revealed in the 'Table,' the national tragedy of Athens and the constitutional drama of Rome are seen to stand out in consecutive presentment from its earlier and latter portions. Each is at once apparent, because each has been reconstituted for us. But the fact

[1] Freeman, *Methods of Historic Study*, p. 168. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*.

[2] A. H. Clough, *Plutarch's Lives*. 1883.

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that such reconstitution has been possible—proving, as it does, how complete was the unsuspected influence of Plutarch's political temperament over his conscious selection of great men—puts us in the way of tracing this influence over his every preference. It gives a key to one great chamber in his mind, and a clue which we can follow through the windings of his book. It makes plain the fact that every one of his heroes achieved, or attempted, one of four political services which a man may render to his fellows. Their life-work consisted (1) in founding States; (2) in defending them from foreign invasion; (3) in extending their dominion; or (4) in leading political parties within their confines. All are, therefore, men who made history, considered each one in relation to his State. In dealing, for instance, with Demosthenes and Cicero, Plutarch 'will not confer their works and writings 'of eloquence,' but 'their acts and deeds in the government 'of the commonwealth.' In this manner, also, does he deal even with his 'founders,' who can scarce be called men, being but figures of legend and dream. Yet they too were evolved under the spell of political prepossession in the nations which conceived their legends; and the floating, shifting appearances, the 'mist and hum' of them, are compacted by a writer in whom that prepossession was strongly present. That such airy creatures should figure at all as historical statesmen, having something of natural movement and bulk, in itself attests beyond all else to this habit of Plutarch's mind. Having 'set forth the lives of Lycurgus '(which established the law of the Lacedemonians), and of 'King Numa Pompilius,' he thought he 'might go a little 'further to the life of Romulus,' and 'resolved to match him 'which did set up the noble and famous city of Athens, with 'him which founded the glorious and invincible city of Rome.' He is dealing, as he says, with matter 'full of suspicion and 'doubt, being delivered us by poets and tragedy makers, 'sometimes without truth and likelihood, and always with-'out certainty.' He is dealing, indeed, with shadows; but they are shadows projected backward upon the mists about their origin by two nations which were above all things political; and he lends them a further semblance of con-

The Personality and Significance of the *Lives* essentially Political

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sistency and perspective, by regarding them from a political point of view in the light of a later political experience. His *Theseus* and his *Romulus* are, indeed, a tissue woven out of folk-lore and the faint memories of a savage prime: you shall find in them traces of forgotten customs; marriage by capture,[1] for instance, and much else that is frankly beyond belief; things which, he says, 'peradventure will please the 'reader better for their strangeness and curiosity, than offend 'or mislike him for their falsehood.' But his *Lycurgus*, saving the political glosses, and his *Pompilius*, are likewise all of legend and romance: of the days 'when the Aventine was 'not inhabited, nor inclosed within the walls of Rome, but 'was full of springs and shadowed groves,' the haunt of Picus and Faunus, and of 'Lady Silence'; yet he contrives to cast a political reflection over even this noiseless dream-land of folk-lore. Lycurgus and Theseus, in the manner of their deaths, present vague images of the fate which in truth befell the most of their historic prototypes. Lycurgus kills himself, not because his constitution for Sparta is in danger but, lest any should seek to change it; and the bones of Theseus, the Athenian, murdered by his ungrateful country-men, are magically discovered, and are brought back to Athens 'with great joye, with processions and goodly sacri-'fices, as if Theseus himself had been alive, and had returned 'into the city again.' As we read, we seem to be dreaming of Cato's death at Utica; and of Alcibiades' return, when the people who had banished him to the ruin of their country 'clustred all to him only and . . . put garlands of flowers 'upon his head.'

The Folk-lore of Politics

Some Heroes of Legend

The relation of the *Lives* in the three other categories to the political temper of Plutarch and his age is more obvious, if less significant of that temper and its prevalence in every region of thought. Of the Romans, Publicola and Coriolanus belong also to romance. But both were captains in the first legendary wars waged by Rome for supremacy in Italy; and the lives of both are charged with the hues of party politics. Publicola is painted as the aristocrat who,

and Romance

[1] The marriage of Pirithous, p. 62, and the ravishment of the Sabines, 85.

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Historic Rome and Historic Greece Contrasted

by patient loyalty to the Constitution, lives down the suspicions of the populace; Coriolanus, as a type of caste at once noble for its courage and lamentable for its indomitable pride. Passing, after these four, out of fable into history, there remain six Romans besides the thirteen involved in the culminating drama. Three of these, Furius Camillus, Marcellus, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, were the heroes of Rome's successful resistance to foreign invasion, and two, T. Q. Flaminius and Paulus Æmilius, the heroes of her equally successful foreign and colonial policy; while one only, Marcus Cato, is chosen as a constitutional politician from the few untroubled years between the assurance of empire abroad and the constitutional collapse at home. Turning from Italy to Greece, we find, again, that after the two legendary founders and Solon, the more or less historical contriver of the Athenian constitution, the remainder Greeks without exception fall under one or more of the three other categories: they beat back invasion, or they sought to extend a suzerainty, or they led political parties in pursuit of political ideals. Swayed by his political temperament, Plutarch exhibits men of a like stamp engaged in like issues. But, in passing from his public men of Italy to his public men of Greece, we may note that, while the issues which call forth the political energies of the two nations are the same, a difference merely in the order of event works up the same characters and the same situations into another play with another and a more complicated plot. Rome had practically secured the headship of the Italian States some years before the First Punic War. Her suzerainty was, therefore, an accomplished fact, frequently challenged but never defeated, before the Italian races were called upon to face any foe capable of absorbing their country. But in Greece, neither before nor after the Persian invasion did any one State ever become permanently supreme. So that, whereas, in Italy, the issue of internal wars and jealousies was decided long before the danger of foreign domination had to be met; in Greece, overshadowed in turn by the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, that issue was never decided at all. It follows that the history of Italy is the history of

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Rome, and not of the Latins or of the Samnites; but that the history of Greece is, at first, the history of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes in rivalry with one another, and, at last, of Macedon and Rome brooding over leagues and confederacies between the lesser islands and States. The Roman drama is single. The City State becomes supreme in Italy; rolls back wave after wave of Gauls and Carthaginians and Teutons; extends her dominion to the ends of the earth; and then, suddenly, finds her Constitution shattered by the strain of world-wide empire. Plutarch gives the actors in all these scenes; but it is in the last, which is the most essentially political, that he crowds his stage with the living, and, afterwards, cumbers it with the dead. The Greek drama is complex, and affords no such opportunity for scenic concentration. Even the first and simplest issue, of repelling an invader, is made intricate at every step by the jealousy between Sparta and Athens. Plutarch tells twice over[1] that Themistocles, the Athenian, who had led the allies to victory at Salamis, proposed to burn their fleets at anchor so soon as the danger was overpassed: for by this means Athens might seize the supremacy of the sea. The story need not be true: that it should ever have been conceived proves in what spirit the Greek States went into alliance, even in face of Persia. The lives of two other Athenians, Cimon and Aristides, complete Plutarch's picture of the Persian War; and after that war he can never group his Greeks on any single stage. Each of them seeks, indeed, to extend the influence of his State, or to further his political opinions; but in the tangle of combinations resulting from their efforts one feature remains unchanged among many changes. Through all the fighting and the scheming it is ever Greek against Greek. The history is a kaleidoscope, but the pieces are the same. That is the tragedy of Greece: the ceaseless duel of the few with the many, with a complication of racial rivalries between independent City States. There is no climax of development, there is no sudden failure of the heart; but an agony of spasm twitches at every nerve in the body in turn. Extinction follows extinction of political power in

Their Essential Differences

[1] In the *Themistocles* and in the *Aristides*.

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one State after, and at the hands of, another; and in the end there is a total eclipse of national life under the shadow of Rome.

Plutarch's Outlook upon Greek Politics

It is customary to date the political death of Greece from the battle at Chæronea, in which the Macedonians overthrew the allied armies of Athens and Thebes. But to Plutarch, who had a better, because a nearer, point of view, the perennial virulence of race and opinion, which constituted so much of the political life of Greece, went after Chæronea as merrily as before. The combatants, on whose sky was but clouded by the empire of Alexander, fought on into the night of Roman rule; and, when they relented, it was even then, according to Plutarch, only from sheer exhaustion. Explaining the lull in these rivalries during the old age of Philopœmen, he writes that 'like as 'the force and strength of sickness declineth, as the natural 'strength of the sickly body impaireth, envy of quarrel and 'war surceased as their power diminished.' Of these Greeks, other than the founders and the heroes of the Persian War, six were leaders in the rivalry, first, between Athens and Sparta and, then, between Sparta and Thebes. Of these, three were Athenians—Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; two were Spartans—Lysander and Agesilaus; one was Pelopidas the Theban. These six lives complete Plutarch's picture of the Peloponnesian War. Then, still keeping to Greeks proper, he indulges in an excursion to Syracuse in the lives of Dion and Timoleon. Later, in the lives of Demosthenes and Phocion, you feel the cloud of the Macedonian Empire gathering over Greece. And, lastly, while Rome and Macedon fight over her head for the substance of dominion and political reform, two kings of Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes, and two generals of the Achæan League, Aratus and Philopœmen, are found still thwarting each other for the shadow. Plutarch shows four others, not properly to be called Greeks: the Macedonians Alexander and Demetrius, Pyrrhus the Molossian, and Eumenes, born a Greek of Cardia, but a Macedonian by his career. These four come on the stage as an interlude between the rivalries of the Peloponnesian War and the last futilities of the Achæan League. Alexander

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for a time obliterates all lesser lights; and in the lives of the other three we watch the flashing train of his successors. All are shining figures, all are crowned, all are the greatest adventurers of the world; and tumbling out of one kingdom into another, they do battle in glorious mellays for cities and diadems and Queens.

Forgeries and Interpolations

Taking a clue from the late reconstitution of the most moving scenes at Athens and Rome, I follow it through the *Parallel Lives*, and I sketch the political framework it discovers. Into that framework, which co-extends with Plutarch's original conception, I can fit every life in North's first edition, from the *Theseus* to the *Aratus*. I could not overlook so palpable and so significant a result of Plutarch's political temperament; and I must note it because it has been overlooked, and even obscured, in later editions of Amyot and North. Amyot's first and second editions, of 1559 and 1565, both end with the *Otho*, which, although it does not belong to the *Parallel Lives*, was at least Plutarch. But to Amyot's third, of 1567, there were added the *Annibal* and the *Scipion* (major), first fabricated for the Latin translation of 1470 by Donato Acciaiuoli and translated into French by Charles de l'Escluse, or de la Sluce, as North prefers to call him. These two lives North received into his first edition: together with a comparison by Simon Goulards Senlisien, an industrious gentleman who, as 'S. G. S.,' supplied him with further material at a later date.[1] For indeed, once begun in the first Latin translation, this process of completing Plutarch knew no bounds for more than two hundred years. The Spanish historian, Antonio de Guevara, had perpetrated a decade of emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, and eight more, and these, too, were translated into French by Antoine Allègre, and duly appended to the Amyot of 1567 by its publisher Vascosan. All was fish that came to Vascosan's net. The indefatigable S. G. S. concocted lives of Augustus and Seneca; translated biographies from Cornelius Nepos;

In Latin

French and Spanish

[1] Professor Skeat, in his *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, leaves the attribution of these initials in doubt. They have been taken by many French editors of Amyot to stand for B. de Girard, Sieur du Haillan, but M. de Blignières shows in his *Essai sur Amyot*, p. 184, that they stood for Simon Goulard, the translator of Seneca.

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and, with an excellent turn for symmetry, supplied unaided all the Comparisons which are not to be found in Plutarch. The Chæronean either wrote them, and they were lost; or, possibly, he paused before the scaling of Cæsar and Alexander, content with the perfection he had achieved. But S. G. S. knew no such embarrassment; and Amyot's publisher of 1583 accepted his contributions, as before, in the lump.

North's Additions

North in his third edition of 1603 is a little, but only a little, more fastidious: he rejects all the Comparisons except, oddly enough, that between Cæsar and Alexander; but on the other hand, he accepts from S. G. S. the lives of 'worthy 'chieftains' and 'famous philosophers'[1] who—and this is a point—were not, as all Plutarch's exemplars were before everything, public men. Later, the international compliment was returned. The Abbé Bellenger translated into French eight lives—of Æneas, Tullus Hostilius, and so

Rowe and Dacier

forth—concocted in English by Thomas Rowe; and these in their turn were duly added, first to Dacier's *Plutarch* in 1734, and afterwards to the Amyot of 1783: an edition you are not surprised to see filling a small bookcase. Celebrities of all sorts were recruited, simply for their fame, from every age, and from every field of performance—Plato, Aristotle, Philip, even Charlemagne![2] And the process of obscuring Plutarch's method did not end with the interjection of spurious stuff. Men cut down the genuine *Lives* to convenient lengths, for summaries and 'treasuries.'

Simon Goulard

The undefeated S. G. S. covered the margin of one edition after another with reflections tending to edification. He and his kind epitomised Plutarch's matter and pointed his moral, grinding them to the dust of a classical dictionary and the ashes of a copybook headline. All these editions and epitomes and maxims, being none of Plutarch's, should not, of course, in reason have darkened his restriction on the choice of great men. Yet by their number and their vogue, they have so darkened it; and the more easily, for that Plutarch,

[1] Letter of dedication to Queen Elizabeth. Ed. 1631, p. 1108.

[2] Fabricated also by Acciaiuoli for Campani's Latin edition of 1470, and attributed to Plutarch by an erudite calling himself Viscellius. Amyot himself fabricated the lives of Epaminondas and Scipio (minor) at the request of Marguerite of Savoye, but never published them as Plutarch.

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as I have shown, says nothing of the limit he observed. Beneath these additions the political framework of the *Lives* lay buried for centuries; and even after they had been discarded by later translators, it was still shrouded in the mist they had exhaled. Banish the additions and their atmosphere—fit only for puritans and pedants—and once more the political framework emerges in all its significance and in all its breadth.

Plutarch's Mind

From this effect we cannot choose but turn to the *causa causans*—the mind that achieved it. We want to know the political philosophy of a writer who, being a student of human character, yet held it unworthy his study save in public men. And the curiosity will, as I think, be sharpened rather than rebated by the reflection that many of his commentators have, none the less, denied him any political insight at all.[1] Their paradox plucks us by the sleeve. From a soil thus impregnated with the salt of political instinct one would have looked in the harvest for some savour of political truth; yet one is told that the *Lives*, fruitful of all besides, are barren of this. For my part, I must believe that Plutarch's commentators have been led to a false conclusion along one of two paths: either they have listened too innocently to his avowed intention of portraying only character, and have been confirmed in their error by the indiscriminate additions to his work; or, perceiving his exclusive choice of politicians, they have still declined to recognise political wisdom in an unexpected shape. In a work which is constituted, albeit without intention, upon lines thus definitely political, one might have looked for many direct pronouncements of political opinion. Yet in that expectation one is deceived—as I think, happily. For Plutarch's methods, at least in respect of politics and war, are not those

His Commentators

[1] *Plutarch. Five Lectures*, p. 89. Paul-Louis Courier and many others have written to the same effect, questioning Plutarch's accuracy and insight. On the question of accuracy, I am content to quote Ste.-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, vi. 333: 'Quand on a fait la part du rhéteur et du prêtre d'Apollon en lui, il reste une bien plus large part encore, ce me semble, au collecteur *attentif et consciencieux des moindres traditions* sur les grands hommes, au *peintre abondant et curieux* de la nature humaine': and to refer to Freeman, *Methods of Historical Study*, pp. 167, 168, 184.

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of analysis or of argument, but of pageant and of drama, with actors living and moving against a background of processions that move and live. With all the world for his stage, he shakes off the habit of the lecture-hall, and it is only now and again that, stepping before the curtain, he will speak a prologue in a preface, or turn chorus to comment a space upon the play. Mostly he is absorbed in presenting his heroes as they fought and as they fell; in unfolding, in scene after scene, his *theatrum* of stirring life and majestical death. I cannot deny his many digressions on matters religious, moral, philosophical, and social; and it may be that their very number, accentuating the paucity of his political pronouncements, has emphasised the view with which I cannot concur. Doubtless they are there; nor can I believe that any would wish them away. It is interesting to hear the Pythagorean view of the solar system;[1] and it is charming to be told the gossip about Aspasia[2] and Dionysius[3] after his fall. In the *Pericles*, for instance, Plutarch pauses at the first mention of Aspasia's name: thinking it 'no great digression of our storie, to tell you 'by the way what manner of woman she was.' So he tells you what manner, and, after the telling, excuses himself once more; since, as he says, it came 'in my minde: and me thought I 'should have dealt hardly, if I should have left it unwritten.' Who will resent such compassion? Who so immersed in affairs as to die in willing ignorance of the broken man who seemed to be a 'starke nideotte,' with a turn for low life and repartee? Plutarch carries all before him when he says: 'methinks these 'things I have intermingled concerning Dionysius, are not 'impertinent to the description of our *Lives*, neither are they 'troublesome nor unprofitable to the hearers, unless they 'have other hasty business to let or trouble them.' He is irresistible in this vein, which, by its lightness, leads one to believe that some of the lives, like some modern essays, were first delivered before popular audiences, and then collected with others conceived in a graver key. There are many such

His Methods and Effects

His *Aspasia*

His *Dionysius*

[1] *Numa Pompilius*: marred in North by a mistranslation. In the original it approximates to the Copernican rather than to the Ptolemaic theory.
[2] *Pericles*. [3] *Timoleon*.

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digressions. But, just because his heroes are all politicians, of long political pronouncements there are few: even as of comments on the art of war you shall find scarce one, for the reason that strategy and tactics are made plain on a hundred fields. His politicians and captains speak and fight for themselves. It is for his readers, if they choose, to gather political wisdom from (say) his lives of the aforesaid thirteen Romans; even as, an they will, they may deduce from the *Themistocles* or the *Pompey* the completeness of his grasp upon the latest theories on the command of the sea. INTRODUCTION

Yet there are exceptions, though rare ones, to his rule; and in questioning the political bent of his mind we are not left to inference alone. In the *Lycurgus*, for instance, where the actor is but a walking shadow, Plutarch must needs deal with the system associated with Lycurgus's name: so in this life we have the theory of politics which Plutarch favoured, whereas in the *Pericles* we have the practice of a consummate politician. From the *Lycurgus*, then, we are able to gauge the personal equation (so to say) of the mind which, in the *Pericles*, must have coloured that mind's presentment of political action and debate. Plutarch, like Plato before him, is a frank admirer of the laws which Lycurgus is said to have framed. He delights in that 'perfectest manner of 'a commonwealth' which made the city of Lycurgus 'the 'chiefest of the world, in glory and honour of government, 'by the space of five hundred years.' He tells of the law-giver's journey from Crete to Asia, to compare the 'policy 'of those of Crete (being then very straight and severe) with 'the superfluities and vanities of Ionia'; and you may gather from the context that the one appears to the historian 'whole 'and healthful,' the others 'sick and diseased.' He seems also to approve Lycurgus's indiscriminate contempt for all 'super-'fluous and unprofitable sciences'; for the devices of 'licorous 'cooks to cram themselves in corners,' of 'rhetoricians who 'teach eloquence and the cunning cast of lying,' of goldsmiths and fortune-tellers and panders. Again, it is with satisfaction that he paints his picture of Lycurgus returning 'home 'one day out of the fields . . . laughing' as he 'saw the 'number of sheaves in shocks together and no one shock His Political Ideals

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'bigger than another'; all Laconia being 'as it were an 'inheritance of many brethren, who had newly made parti-'tion together.' But if Plutarch approves the suppression of luxury and the equal distribution of wealth as ideals, he does not approve the equal distribution of power. He is in favour of constitutional republics and opposed to hereditary monarchies; though he will tolerate even these in countries where they already exist.[1] But he is for republics and against monarchies only that the man 'born to rule' may have authority: such a man, for instance, as Lycurgus, 'born to rule, to command, and to give orders, as having in 'him a certain *natural grace and power to draw men will-'ingly to obey him.*' In any State, he postulates, on the one hand, an enduring Constitution and a strong Senate of proved men; on the other, a populace with equal political rights of electing to the Senate and of sanctioning the laws that Senate may propose. Yet these in themselves are but preliminary conditions of liberty and order. Besides, for the preservation of a State there are needed rulers few and fit, armed with enough authority and having courage enough to wield it. It is essential that the few, who are fit, shall direct and govern the many, who are not. If authority be impaired, whether by incompetence in the few or through jealousy in the many, then must disaster follow. Now, many who hold this view are prone, when disaster does follow, to blame the folly of the many rather than the unfitness of the few. But Plutarch is distinguished in this: that, holding the view as firmly as any have held it—now preaching the gospel of authority and now exhibiting its proof at every turn—he yet imputes the blame of failure, almost always, to incompetence or to cowardice in the few. 'He that directeth well must needs be 'well obeyed. For like as the art of a good rider is to make 'his horse gentle and ready at commandment, even so the 'chiefest point belonging to a prince is to teach his people 'to obey.' I take these words from the *Lycurgus*. They set forth Plutarch's chief political doctrine; and the statement of fact is pointed with his favourite image. That the horse (or the many) should play the antic at will, is to him

His Preference for the Born Ruler

His Theory of Culpability

[1] *Comparison of Demetrius with Antonius.*

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plainly absurd: the horse must be ridden, and the many must be directed and controlled. Yet, if the riding, or the governing, prove a failure, Plutarch's quarrel is with the ruler and the horseman, not with the people or the mount. For he knows well that 'a ragged colt oftimes proves a good horse, 'specially if he be well ridden and broken as he should be.'[1] This is but one of his innumerable allusions to horse-breaking and hunting: as, for instance, in the *Paulus Æmilius*, he includes 'riders of horses and hunts of Greece' among painters and gravers of images, grammarians and rhetoricians, as the proper Greek tutors for completing the education of a Roman moving with the times. And no one who takes note of these allusions can doubt that, as one of a chivalrous and sporting race, he was qualified to deal with images drawn from the *manège* and the chase. As little can any one who follows his political drama miss the application of these images. Sometimes, indeed, his constant theme and his favourite image almost seem fused: as when he describes the *natural grace* of his Cæsar, 'so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, 'that holding his hands behind him, he would galop his 'horse upon the spur'; a governor so ever at one with those he governed, that he directed even his charger by an inflexion of his will rather than of his body. This need of authority and the obligation on the few to maintain it—by a 'natural grace,' springing, on the one hand, from courage combined with forbearance; and leading, on the other, to harmony between the rulers and the ruled—is the text which, given out in the *Lycurgus*, is illustrated throughout the *Parallel Lives*.

His Favourite Image

I have said that, apart from the *Lycurgus*, Plutarch's political pronouncements are to be found mostly in the prefaces to certain 'books' and in scattered comments on such action as he displays. And of all these 'books' the *Pericles and Fabius Maximus* is, perhaps, the richest in pronouncements, in both its preface and its body, all bearing on his theory of authority and on its maintenance by 'natural grace.' A 'harmony' is to be aimed at; but a harmony in the Dorian mode. Pericles is commended because in later

His Philosophy of Harmony

[1] *Themistocles.*

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life 'he was wont . . . not so easily to grant to all the 'people's wills and desires, no more than as it were to 'contrary winds.' In Plutarch's eyes he did well when 'he 'altered his over-gentle and popular manner of government '. . . as too delicate and effeminate an harmony of music, 'and did convert it into an imperious government, or rather 'a kingly authority.' He has nothing but praise for the independence and fortitude by which Pericles achieved Cæsar's policy of uniting within himself all the yearly offices of the State, 'not for a little while, nor in a gear (fashion) of 'favour,' but for 'forty years together.' He compares him to the captain of a ship 'not hearkening to the passengers' 'fearful cries and pitiful tears,' and holds him up for an example, since he 'neither would be persuaded by his friends' 'earnest requests and entreaties, neither cared for his enemies' 'threats and accusations against him, nor yet reckoned of all 'their foolish scoffing songs they sung of him in the city.' So, too, in the same book, when Plutarch comes to portray Fabius Maximus, he gives us that great man's view: that 'to be afeard of the wagging of every straw, or to regard 'every common prating, is not the part of a worthy man of 'charge, but rather of a base-minded person, to seek to please 'those whom he ought to command and govern, because 'they are but fools.' (Thus does blunt Sir Thomas render Amyot's polite, but equally sound, '*parce qu'ils ne sont pas* '*sages.*') But the independence and the endurance necessary in a ruler are not to be accompanied by irritation or contempt. While 'to flatter the common people' is at best 'effeminate,' and at worst 'the broad high-way of them that 'practise tyranny,'[1] still, 'he is less to be blamed that seeketh 'to please and gratify his common people than he that de-'spiseth and disdaineth them'; for here is no harmony at all, but discord. The words last quoted are from the Comparison between Alcibiades and Coriolanus, two heroes out of tune with their countrymen, whose courage and independence were made thereby of no avail. But in the *Pericles and Fabius Maximus* Plutarch shows us heroes after his own heart, and in his preface to their lives he insists more ex-

The Greatness of Pericles

and Fabius Maximus

A Result of this Harmony

[1] *Furius Camillus.*

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plicitly than elsewhere on the need of not only courage and independence but also forbearance and goodwill; since without these, their complements, the other virtues, are sterile. Pericles and Fabius, being at least as proud and brave as Alcibiades and Coriolanus, 'for that they would patiently 'bear the follies of their people and companions that were 'in charge of government with them, were marvellous profit-'able members for their country.' He returns to this theory of harmony in his preface to the *Phocion and Cato*. In every instance he assumes as beyond dispute, that the few must govern, working an obedience in the many; but they are to work it by a 'natural grace' of adaptation to the needs and natures they command. In this very book he blames Cato of Utica, not for the 'ancient simplicity' of his manner, which 'was indeed praiseworthy,' but, simply because it was 'not the convenientest, nor the fittest' for him; for that 'it answered nor respected not the use and manners 'of his time.'

Three Contrasts

How comes it to pass that Plutarch's heroes, being thus prone to compromise, yet fight and die, often at their own hands, for the ideals they uphold? The question is a fair one, and the answer reveals a profound difference between the theory and the practice of politics approved by the ancient world and the theory and the practice of politics approved in the England of to-day. 'The good and ill,' says Plutarch, 'do nothing differ but in mean and medio-'crity.' We might therefore expect in his heroes a reluctance to sacrifice all for a difference of degree; and especially might we suppose that, after deciding an equipoise so nice as that between 'authority and lenity,' his governors would stake little on their decision. But in a world of adjustment and doubt they are all for compromise in theory, while in action they are extreme. They are ready in spite, almost because, of that doubt, to seal with their blood such certainty as they can attain. His statesmen, inasmuch as they do respect 'the use and manners' of their time, endure all things while they live, and at last die quietly, not for an abstract idea or a sublime emotion, but for the compromise of their day: though they know it for a compromise, and foresee its

The Practice and Theory of Plutarch's Heroes

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inevitable destruction. They have no enthusiasm, and no ecstasy. Uninspired from without, and self-gathered within, they live their lives, or lay them down, for the use and wont of their country. In reading their history an Englishman cannot but be struck by the double contrast between these tendencies of theory and action and the tendencies of theory and action finding favour in England now. Ever extreme in theory, we are all for compromise in fact; proud on the one score of our sincerity, on the other of our common-sense. We are fanatics, who yet decline to persecute, still less to suffer, for our faith. And this temperance of behaviour, following hard on the violent utterance of belief, is apt to show something irrational and tame. The actor stands charged, often unjustly, with a lack of both logic and courage. The Greeks, on the other hand, who found 'truth in a union of opposites and the aim of life in 'its struggle,'[1] and the Romans, who aped their philosophy and outdid their deeds, are not, in Plutarch's pages, open to this disparagement. They live or die for their faiths as they found them, and so appear less extravagant and more brave. The temper is illustrated again and again by the manner in which they observe his doctrine, that rulers must maintain their authority, and at the same time 'bear the 'follies of their people and companions that are in charge 'of government with them.' To read the *Pericles* or the *Pompeius*, the *Julius Cæsar* or the *Cato*, is to feel that a soldier may as well complain of bullets in a battle as a statesman of stupidity in his colleagues. These are constants of the problem. Only on such terms are fighting and ruling to be had. So, too, with 'the people': with the many, that is, who have least chance of understanding the game, least voice in its conduct, least stake in its success. If these forget all but yesterday's service, if they look only for to-morrow's reward, the hero is not therefore to complain. This short-lived memory and this short-sighted imagination are constants also. They are regular fences in the course he has set himself to achieve. He must clear them if he can, and fall if he cannot; but he must never complain. They are con-

Our Own

Some Constants of the Problem

[1] *The Moral Ideal*, Julia Wedgwood, p. 82.

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ditions of success, not excuses for failure; and to name them is to be ridiculous. The Plutarchian hero never does name them. He is obstinate, but not querulous. He cares only for the State; he insists on saving it in his own way; he kills himself, if other counsels prevail. But he never complains, and he offers no explanations. Living, he prefers action before argument; dying, he chooses drama rather than defence. While he has hope, he acts like a great man; and when hope ceases, he dies like a great actor. He and his fellows seek for some compromise between authority and lenity, and, having found it, they maintain it to the end. They are wise in taking thought, and sublime in taking action: whereas now, we are courageous in our theories, but exceeding cautious in our practice. Yet who among modern politicians will say that Plutarch's men were in the wrong? Who, hoarse with shouting against the cataract of circumstance, will dare reprove the dumb-show of their lives and deaths?

Plutarch's Political Universe Divinely Ordered

I have shown from the *Lycurgus*, from the prefaces to the *Pericles* and the *Phocion*, and from scattered comments elsewhere, that Plutarch has something to say upon politics which, whether we agree with him or not, is at least worthy our attention. There is yet an occasion of one other kind—which he takes, I think, only twice—for speaking his own mind upon politics. After the conclusion of a long series of events, ending, for instance, in the rule of Rome over Greece, or in the substitution of the Empire for the Republic, he assembles these conclusions, at first sight to him unreasonable and unjust, and seeks to interpret them in the light of divine wisdom and justice. Now, he was nearer than we are to the two great sequences I have denoted, by seventeen centuries: he lived, we may say, in a world which they had created anew. And whereas he took in all political questions a general interest so keen that it has coloured the whole of a work not immediately addressed to politics, in these two sequences his interest was particular and personal: in the first because of his patriotism, and in the second because of his familiar converse with the best in Rome. We are happy, then, in the judgment of such a critic on the two

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greatest political dramas enacted in the ancient world. The human—I might say the pathetic—interest of the treatment accorded by the patriotic Greek to the growth of Roman dominion and its final extension over the Hellenistic East, will absorb the attention of many. But it offers, besides, as I think, although this has been questioned, much of political wisdom. In any case, on the one count or upon the other, I feel bound to indicate the passages in which he comments on these facts. We are not in doubt as to his general views on Imperial aggression and a 'forward policy.' After noting that the Romans forsook the peaceful precepts of Numa, and 'filled all Italy with murder and blood,' he imagines one saying: 'But hath not Rome excelled still, and prevailed 'more and more in chivalry?' And he replies:[1] 'This ques-'tion requireth a long answer, and especially unto such men 'as place felicity in riches, in possessing and in the greatness 'of empire, rather than in quiet safety, peace and concord of 'a common weal.' For his part he thought with Lycurgus,[2] that a city should not seek to command many; but that 'the 'felicity of a city, as of a private man, consisted chiefly in 'the exercise of virtue, and the unity of the inhabitants 'thereof, and that the citizens should be nobly minded '(Amyot: *francs de cueurs*), content with their own, and 'temperate in their doings (*attrempez en tous leurs faicts*), 'that thereby they might maintain and keep themselves long 'in safety.' But, holding this general opinion, and biassed into the bargain by his patriotism, he cannot relate the stories of Aratus and Philopœmen on the one hand, or of Flaminius and Lucullus on the other, without accepting the conclusion that the rule of Rome was at last necessary for the rational and just government of the world; and, therefore, was inevitably ordained by the Divine wisdom. Rome 'increased and grew strong by arms and continual 'wars, *like as piles driven into the ground, which the more they 'are rammed in the further they enter and stick the faster.*'[3] For it was by obedience and self-restraint, by a 'yielding 'unto reason and virtue' that the 'Romans came to com-

His Acceptance of the Sovranty of Rome

For the Sake of Roman Virtue

[1] *Comparison of Lycurgus with Numa Pompilius.*
[2] *Lycurgus.* [3] *Numa Pompilius.*

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'mand all other and to make themselves the mightiest 'people of the world.'[1] In Greece he finds nothing of this obedience and this self-restraint; nothing but rivalry between leaders and jealousy between States. Cleomenes, the Spartan king, Aratus and Philopœmen, both leaders of the Achæan League, are among the last of his Greek heroes. He lingers over them lovingly; yet it is Aratus who, in jealousy of Cleomenes, brings Antigonus and his Macedonians into Greece; and it is Flaminius, the Roman, who expels them. In this act some modern critics have seen only one of many cloaks for a policy of calculated aggression, but it is well to remember for what it is worth that Plutarch, the Greek patriot, saw in it simply the act of a 'just and courteous gentleman,' and that, according to him, the 'only 'cause of the utter destruction of Greece' must be sought earlier: when Aratus preferred the Macedonians before allowing Cleomenes a first place in the Achæan League. In the *Cimon and Lucullus*, even after Greece became a Roman province, he shows the same rivalries on a smaller scale. The 'book' opens with a story which, with a few changes, mostly of names, might be set in the Ireland of a hundred years ago. One Damon, an antique Rory of the Hills, after just provocation, collects a band of moonlighters who, with blackened faces, set upon and murder a Roman captain. The town council of Chæronea condemns Damon and his companions to death, in proof of its own innocence, and is murdered for its pains. At last Damon himself is enticed into a bathhouse, and killed. Then the Orchomenians, 'being near neighbours unto the Chæroneans, and 'therefore their enemies,' hire an 'informer' to accuse all the Chæroneans of complicity in the original murder; and it is only the just testimony of the Roman general, Lucullus, who chances to be marching by, which saves the town from punishment. An image is set up to Lucullus which Plutarch has seen; and even to his day 'terrible voices and cries' are heard by the neighbours from behind the walled-up door of the bathhouse, in which Damon had died. He knows the whole story from his childhood, and knows that in this small

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As Opposed to the Selfishness and the Unstableness of Greece

[1] *Paulus Æmilius.*

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matter Lucullus showed the same justice and courtesy which Flaminius had displayed in a great one. For it is only the strong who can be just; and therefore to the strong there falls in the end, without appeal, the reward, or the penalty, of doing justice throughout the world. That seems to be Plutarch's 'long answer' to those who question the justice of the Roman Empire. He gives it most fully in the life of Flaminius, taking, as I have said, a rare occasion in order to comment on the conclusion of a long series of events. First, he sums up the results achieved by the noble Greeks, many of whose lives he has written. 'For Agesilaus,' he writes, 'Lysander, Nicias, Alcibiades, and all other the famous cap-'tains of former times, had very good skill to lead an army, 'and to winne the battle, as well by sea as by land, but to 'turn their victories to any honourable benefit, or true honour 'among men, they could never skill of it'; especially as, apart from the Persian War, 'all the other wars and the 'battles of Greece that were made fell out against them-'selves, and did ever bring them unto bondage: and all 'the tokens of triumph which ever were set up for the 'same was to their shame and loss.' Having summed up the tragedy of Greece in these words, he turns to the Roman rule, and 'The good deeds of the Romans and of Titus Quintus 'Flaminius,' he says, 'unto the Grecians, did not only reap this 'benefit unto them, in recompense that they were praised 'and honoured of all the world; but they were cause also of 'increasing their dominions and empire over all nations.' So that 'peoples and cities . . . procured them to come, and did 'put themselves into their hands'; and 'kings and princes 'also (which were oppressed by other more mighty than 'themselves) had no other refuge but to put themselves 'under their protection, by reason whereof in a very short 'time . . . all the world came to submit themselves under the 'protection of their empire.'

The Justice of the Roman Empire

Plutarch and Cæsar

In the same way, he, a republican, acquiesced in the necessity for Cæsar. Having told the story of Brutus, the last of the thirteen Romans, he falls on the other of my two occasions, and 'Cæsar's power and government,' he writes, 'when it came to be established, did indeed much hurt at

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'his first entrie and beginning unto those that did resist 'him: but afterwards there never followed any tyrannical nor 'cruel act, but contrarily, it seemed that he was a merciful 'Physician *whom God had ordained of special grace to be* '*Governor of the Empire of Rome, and to set all things again* '*at quiet stay, the which required the counsel and authority* '*of an absolute Prince.*' That is his epilogue to the longest and the mightiest drama in all history; and in it we have for once the judgment of a playwright on the ethics of his play. Yet so great a dramatist was Plutarch that even his epilogue has not saved him from the fate of his peers. While some, with our wise King James I., blame him for injustice to Cæsar,[1] yet others find him a niggard in his worship of Brutus and Cato. The fact is, each of his heroes is for the moment of such flesh and blood as to compel the pity of him that reads; for each is in turn the brother of all men, in their hope and in their despair. If, then, the actor chances to be Brutus and the reader King James, Plutarch is damned for a rebel; but again, if the reader be a republican, when Servilia's lover wraps him in his cloak and falls, why, then is Plutarch but the friend of a tyrant. Thus by the excellence of his art he forces us to argue that his creatures must reign in his affection as surely as for a moment they can seize upon our own. Take an early hero of the popular party—take Caius Gracchus. We know him even to his trick of vehement speech; and, knowing him so intimately, we cannot but mourn over that parting from his wife, when he left her to meet death, and she, 'reaching after him to take him by the gown, fell to 'the ground and lay flatlings there a great while, speak-'ing never a word.' Cato, again, that hero of the other side, lives to be forbidding for his affectation; yet who but remembers the clever boy making orations full of 'witt 'and vehemence,' with a 'certaine gravetie' which 'de-'lighted his hearers and *made them laugh, it did so please* '*them*'? One harks back to the precocious youngster, once the hope of the winning party, when Cato, left alone in

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One Effect of his Art

Caius Gracchus

Cato

[1] In his interview with Casaubon. See Ste.-Beuve: *Causeries du Lundi*, xiv. 402.

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Utica, the last soul true to a lost cause, asks the dissemblers of his sword if they 'think to keep an old 'man alive by force?' He takes kindly thought for the safety of his friends, reads the *Phædo*, and dozes fitfully through the night, and behold! you are in the room with a great man dying. You feel with him that chill disillusion of the dawn, when '*the little birds began 'to chirp*'; you share in the creeping horror of his servants, listening outside the door; and when they give a 'shriek 'for fear' at the 'noise of his fall, overthrowing a little 'table of geometry hard by his bed,' it is almost a relief to know that the recovered sword has done its work.

Pompeius Magnus

And who can help loving Pompey, with his 'curtesie in 'conversation; so that there was never man that *requested 'anything with less ill will than he*, nor that more willingly 'did pleasure unto any man when he was requested. *For 'he gave without disdain and took with great honour*'? 'The cast and soft moving of his eyes . . . had a certain 'resemblaunce of the statues and images of King Alexander.' Even 'Flora the curtisan'—Villon's 'Flora la belle Romaine' —pined away for love of him when he turned her over to a friend. He is all compact of courage and easy despair: now setting sail in a tempest, for 'it is necessity, I must go, but 'not to live'; and again, at Pharsalia, at the first reverse '*forgetting that he was Pompey the Great*,' and leaving the field to walk silently away. And that last scene of all: when on a desolate shore a single 'infranchised bondman' who had 'remained ever' by the murdered hero, 'sought upon the 'sands and found at the length a piece of an old fisher's 'boat enough to serve to burn his naked body with'; and so a veteran who had been with him in his old wars happens upon the afflicting scene; and you hear him hail the other lonely figure: 'O friend, what art thou that preparest the 'funerals of Pompey the Great? . . . Thou shalt not have '*all this honour alone* . . . to bury the only and most 'famous Captain of the Romans!'

There is sorcery in Plutarch's presentments of these politicians, which may either blind to the import of the drama they enact, or beguile into thinking that he sympathises

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by turns with the ideal of every leader he portrays. But behind the glamour of their living and the glory of their death, a relentless progression of political causes and effects conducts inevitably to Cæsar's personal rule. In no other book do we see so full an image of a nation's life, because in no other is the author so little concerned to prove the truth of any one theory, or the nobility of any one sentiment. He is detached—indeed, absorbed—in another purpose. He exhibits his thirteen vivid personalities, holding, mostly by birth, to one of two historic parties, and inheriting with those parties certain traditional aspirations and beliefs; yet by showing men as they are, he contrives to show that truth and nobility belong to many divergent beliefs and to many conflicting aspirations. Doubtless he has his own view, his rooted abhorrence to the rule of one man; and this persuasion inclines him now to the Popular Party in its opposition to Sulla, and again to the Senate in its opposition to Cæsar. But still, by the sheer force of his realism, he drives home, as no other writer has ever done, the great truth that theories and sentiments are in politics no more than flags and tuckets in a battle: that in fighting and in government it is, after all, the fighting and the governing which must somehow or another be achieved. And, since in this world governing there must be, the question at any moment is: What are the possible conditions of government? In the latter days of the Republic it appears from the *Lives* that two sets of causes had led to a monstrous development of individuals, in whose shadow all lower men must wither away. So Sertorius sails for the 'Fortunate Islands'; Cato is juggled to Cyprus; Cicero is banished; while Lucullus, out-metalled by Pompey on his own side, 'lay still and took 'his pleasure, and would no more meddle with the common-'wealth,' and the unspeakable Bibulus 'kept him close in his 'house for eight months' space, and only sent out bills.' At last you have the Triumvirate; and then, with Crassus killed, the two protagonists face to face: 'whose names the strange 'and far nations understood before the name of Romans, so 'great were their victories.' Given the Roman dominion and two parties with the traditions of Marius and Sulla behind

Plutarch's Impartiality

His Conclusion in the Matter of the Republic

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INTRO-DUCTION

them, there was nothing for it but that one or other should prove its competence to rule; and no other way of achieving this than finding the man and giving him the power. The Marians found Cæsar, and in him a man who could find power for himself. The political heirs of Sulla found Cato and Brutus, and Lucullus and Pompey; but none of these was Cæsar, and, such as they were, the Senate played them off the one against the other. Bemused with theories and sentiments, they neither saw the necessity, nor seized the means, of governing a world that cried aloud for government. In Plutarch you watch the play; and, whatever you may think of the actors—of Crassus or Cato, Pompey or Cæsar—of the non-actors you can think nothing. Bibulus, with his 'bills,' and the Senate, which bade Pompey disband his troops, stand for ever as types of formal incompetence. Plutarch shows

The True Morality

that it is wiser and more righteous to win the game by accepting the rules, even if sometimes you must strain and break them, than to leave the table because you dislike the rules. Instead of quarrelling with the rules and losing the game, the Senate should have won the game, and then have changed the rules. This Cæsar did, as Plutarch the republican allows, to the saving of his country and the lasting profit of mankind. Doubtless he shows the argument in action, and points the moral only in an epilogue. But living, as we do, after the politicians of so many ages and so many parties have laid competing claims to the glory of his chiefs, this is our gain. Brutus and Cato, heroes of the Renaissance and gods of liberty a hundred years ago, we are told by eminent historians, were selfish oligarchs: bunglers who, having failed to feed the city or to flush the drains, wrote 'sulky letters'[1] about the one man who could do these things, and govern the world into the bargain. Between these views it skills not to decide. It is enough to take up the *Lives* and to rejoice that Plutarch, writing one hundred and fifty years after the foundering of the Republic, dwelt rather on its heroes who are for ever glorious than on its theories which were for ever shamed.

In his book are three complete plays: the brief tragedy

[1] Mommsen: he uses the phrase of Cicero.

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of Athens—that land of 'honey and hemlock,' offering her cup of sweet and deadly elements to the dreamers of every age; with the drama of the merging of Greece in the dominion of Rome and the drama of the overthrow of the Roman Republic. And the upshot of all three is that the playwright insists on the culture of the individual for the sake of the State. The political teacher behind the political dramatist inculcates, no theory of politics but, an attitude towards life. Good is the child of custom and conflict, not the reward of individual research; so he shows you life as one battle in which the armies are ordered States. Every man, therefore, must needs be a citizen, and every citizen a soldier in the ranks. For this service, life being a battle, he must cultivate the soldier's virtues of courage and courtesy. The word is North's, and smacks something more of chivalry than Amyot's *humanité*; yet both may be taken to point Plutarch's moral, not only that victory is impossible without kindness between comrades, and intolerable without forbearance between foes, but also, that in every age of man's progress to perfection through strife these qualities must be developed to a larger growth measured by the moral needs of war between nations and parties. He insists again and again on this need of courtesy in a world wherein all men are in duty bound to hold opposite opinions, for which they must in honour live and die. For this his Sertorius, his Lucullus, and his Mummius, sketched in a passing allusion, are chiefly memorable; while of Cæsar he writes that 'amongst other 'honours' his enemies gave him 'he rightly deserved this, 'that they should build him a Temple of Clemency.' Cæsar, lighting from his horse to embrace Cicero, the arch-instigator of the opposition he had overthrown, and walking with him 'a great way a-foot'; or Demetrius, who, the Athenians having defaulted, gathers them into the theatre, and then, when they expect a massacre, forgives them in a speech—these are but two exemplars of a style which Plutarch ever praises. And if his standard of courtesy in victory be high, not lower is his standard of courage in defeat. Demosthenes is condemned for that 'he took his banishment unmanly,' while Phocion, his rival, is made glorious for his irony in

The Moral of the *Parallel Lives*

Courtesy in Victory

and Courage in Defeat

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INTRODUCTION

death: paying, when the stock ran out, for his own hemlock, 'sith a man cannot die at Athens for nothing.' In defeat Plutarch's heroes sometimes doubted if life were worth living; but they never doubted there were things in life worth dying for. Even Demosthenes is redeemed in his eyes because, at the last, 'sith the god Neptune denied him the benefit of 'his sanctuary, *he betook him to a greater, and that was 'Death.*' So often does Plutarch applaud the act of suicide, and so scornfully does he revile those who, like the last king of Macedon, forewent their opportunity, that we might easily misconceive his ethics. But 'when a man will willingly kill 'himself, he must not do it to be rid of pains and labour, 'but it must have an honourable respect and action. *For, 'to live or die for his own respect, that cannot but be dis-'honourable.* . . . And therefore I am of opinion that we 'should not yet cast off the hope we have to serve our 'country in time to come; but when all hope faileth us, 'then we may easily make ourselves away when we list.' Thus, after Selasia, the last of the kings of Sparta, who recalled the saying of Lycurgus: that, with 'great personages '. . . the end of their life should be no more idle and un-'profitable then the rest of their life before.' And this is the pith of Plutarch's political matter: that men may not with honour live unto themselves, but must rather live and die in respect to the State.

II

Moralist or Painter?

Side by side, and in equal honour, with Plutarch the dramatist of politics there should stand, I think—not Plutarch the moralist but—Plutarch the unrivalled painter of men. Much has been written, and rightly written, of his perennial influence upon human character and human conduct; yet outside the ethics of citizenship he insisted on little that is not now a platitude. The interest of his morals springs from their likeness to our own; the wonder of his portraitures must ever be new and strange. Indeed, we may speak of his

Plutarch's Art

art much as he writes, through North, of the 'stately and 'sumptuous buildings' which Pericles 'gave to be built in

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'the cittie of Athens.' For 'it looketh at this daye as if it 'were but newly done and finished, there is such a certaine 'kynde of florishing freshnes in it, which letteth that the 'injurie of time cannot impaire the sight thereof: as if 'every one of those foresaid workes had some living spirite 'in it, to make it seeme young and freshe: and a soul that 'lived ever, which kept them in good continuing state.' Yet despite this 'florishing freshnes' the painter has been slighted for the preacher, and for this preference of the ethical before the æsthetic element in the *Lives*, and of both before their political quality, Plutarch has mostly himself to thank. Just as he masks a political framework under a professed devotion to the study of individual souls, so, when he comes to the study of these souls, he puts you off by declaring a moral aim in language that may easily mislead. 'When 'first I began these lives,' he writes in the *Paulus Æmilius*, 'my intent was to profit other: but since, continuing and 'going on, I have much profited myself by looking into these 'histories, as if I looked into a glasse, to frame and facion 'my life, to the moold and patterne of these vertuous noble 'men, and doe as it were lodge them with me, one after 'another.' And again, 'by keeping allwayes in minde the 'acts of the most noble, vertuous and best geven men of former 'age . . . I doe teache and prepare my selfe to shake of and 'banishe from me, all lewde and dishonest condition, if by 'chaunce the companie and conversation of them whose com-'panie I keepe . . . *doe acquaint me with some unhappie or* '*ungratious touche.*' Now, as matter of fact, he does not keep always in mind these, and these only. Doubtless his aim was moral; yet assuredly he never did pursue it by denoting none save the virtuous acts of the 'most noble, 'vertuous, and best geven men.' On the contrary, his practice is to record their every act of significance, whether good or bad. I admit that he does this ever with a most happy and most gracious touch; for his 'first study' is to write a good man's 'vertues at large,' and if 'certaine faultes' be there, 'to pass them over lightly *of reverent shame to the mere* '*frayelty of man's nature.*'[1] He lays the ruin of his

His Profession not Consistent with his Practice

[1] Preface to the *Cimon and Lucullus*.

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country at the door of Aratus alone; but 'this,' he adds, 'that we have written of Aratus . . . is not so much to 'accuse him as to make us see the frayelty and weakness of 'man's nature: the which, though it have never so excellent 'vertues, cannot yet bring forth such perfit frute, but that 'it hath ever some mayme and blemishe.'[1] That is his wont in portraying the ill deeds of the virtuous; and, for their opposites, 'as I hope,' he writes in the preface to the *Demetrius and Antonius*, 'it shall not be reprehended in me if 'amongst the rest I put in one or two paier of suche, as 'living in great place and accompt, have increased their fame 'with infamy.' 'Phisicke,' he submits in defence of such a choice, 'dealeth with diseases, musicke with discordes, to 'thend to remove them, and worke their contraries, and the 'great Ladies of all other artes (Amyot: *les plus parfaittes 'sciences de toutes*), Temperaunce, Justice, and Wisdom, doe 'not onely consider honestie, uprightness and profit: but 'examine withall, the nature and effects of lewdness, corrup-'tion and damage'; for 'innocencie,' he goes on, 'which 'vaunteth her want of experience in undue practices: men 'call simplicitie (Amyot: *une bestise*) and ignoraunce of 'things that be necessary and good to be knowen.' His, then, is a moral standpoint; and yet it is one from which he is impelled to study—(and that as closely as the keenest apostle of 'art for art')—all matters having truth and significance; whether they be evil or good. For the sake of what is good, he will neither distort truth nor disfigure beauty. Rather, by the exercise of a fine selection, he will create a harmony between the three; so that, embracing everything except the trivial, his art reflects the world as it shows in the sight of sane and healthy-hearted men.

His Canon of Evidence

His method naturally differs from the method of some modern historians; but his canon of evidence, too lax for their purpose, is admirably suited to his own. For instance, in telling of Solon's meeting with Crœsus, he will not reject so famous an history on chronological grounds: because, in the first place, no two are agreed about chronology, and in the second, the story is 'very agreeable to Solon's manners

[1] *Agis and Cleomenes.*

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'and nature.' That is his chief canon; and though the results he attains by it are in no wise doubt-proof, they yield a truer, because a completer, image than do the lean and defective outlines determined by excluding all but contemporary evidence. These outlines belong rather to the science of anthropometry than to the art of portraiture; and Plutarch the painter refuses such restraints. His imagination having taken the imprint of his hero, he will supplement it from impressions left in report and legend, so long, at any rate, as they tally with his own ideal. Nor is there better cause for rejecting such impressions than there is for rejecting the fossils of primeval reptiles whose carnal economy has perished. Given those fossils and a knowledge of morphology, the palæontologist will refashion the dragons of the prime; and in the same way Plutarch, out of tradition and his knowledge of mankind, paints you the true Themistocles. His, indeed, is the surer warrant, since there have been no such changes in human nature as science shows in animal design; so that the method is safe so long as a nation's legends have not been crushed out of shape by the superincumbent layers of a conquering race. Moreover, Plutarch makes no wanton use of his imagination: give him contemporary evidence, and he abides by it, rejecting all besides. In his account of Alexander's death, having the court journal before him, he repudiates later embellishments: 'for all these were thought to be written by some, for lyes 'and fables, because they would have made the ende of this 'great tragedie lamentable and pitifull.'

His results are, of course, unequal. He cannot always revive the past, nor quicken the dead anew. Who can? His gallery includes some pieces done on a faded convention, faint in colour and angular in line, mere pretexts for a parade of legendary names: with certain sketches, as those of Cimon and Aristides, which are hack-work turned out to complete a pair. But first and last there stand out six or seven realisations of living men, set in an atmosphere, charged with a vivid intensity of expression, and striking you in much the same way as the sight of a few people scattered through a big room strikes you when you enter unawares.

His Results

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The *Themistocles*

And when you have done staring at these, you will note a half-dozen more which are scarce less vigorously detached. Plutarch's first masterpiece is the *Themistocles*, and there is never a touch in it but tells. Even as you watch him at work, you are conscious, leaping out from beneath his hand, of the ambitious boy, 'sodainely taken with desire 'of glorie,' who, from his first entry into public life, 'stoode 'at pyke with the greatest and mightiest personnes.' But you soon forget the artist in his creation. You have eyes for nothing but Themistocles himself: now walking with his father by the seashore; now, after Marathon, 'a very 'young man many times solitary alone devising with him-'self'—in this way passing his boyhood, for '*Miltiades* '*victory would not let him sleep.*' Then the ambitious boy develops into the political artist; rivals Aristides, as Fox rivalled Pitt; and is found loving his art for its own sake, above his country, above his ambition even, wrapt as he is, through good fortune and ill, in the expert's delight in his own accomplishment. Knowing what all men should do, and swaying every several man to do it, he controls both individuals and nations with the inspired prescience of a master conducting his own symphony. He has all the devices at his fingers' ends. In the streets he will 'speake 'to every citizen by his name, *no man telling him their* '*names*'; and in the council he will manage even Eurybiades, with that 'Strike an thou wilt, so thou wilt heare 'me,' which has been one of the world's words since its utterance. Now with 'pleasaunt conceits and answers,' now—with a large poetic appeal—'pointing' his countrymen 'the 'waye unto the sea'; this day, deceiving his friends, the next overawing his enemies; with effrontery or chicane, with good-fellowship or reserve; but ever with infinite dexterity, a courage that never falters, and a patience that never wearies: he keeps the shuttle of his thought quick-flying through the web of intrigue. And all for the fun of weaving! Till, at the last, a banished man, being commanded by his Persian master to fight against Greece, 'he 'tooke a wise resolution with himselfe, to make suche an 'ende of his life, as the fame thereof deserved.' After

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sacrificing to the gods, and feasting his friends, he drank poison, 'and so ended his dayes in the cittie of Magnesia, 'after he had lived threescore and five yeres, and the 'most parte of them allwayes in office and great charge.' Plutarch produces this notable piece, not by comment and analysis but, simply by setting down his sitter's acts and words. It is in the same way that he paints his Alcibiades, with his beauty and his lisp: 'the grace of his eloquence, 'the strength and valiantness of his bodie . . . his wis-'dom and experience in marshall affayres'; and again, with his insolence and criminal folly to the women who loved him as to the nations he betrayed. He fought, like the Cid, now for and now against his own. But 'he 'had such pleasaunt comely devises with him that no man 'was of so sullen a nature, but he left him merrie, nor so 'churlishe, but he would make him gentle.' And when he died, they felt that their country died with him; for they 'had some little poore hope left that they were not altogether 'cast away so long as Alcibiades lived.'

The *Alcibiades*

In the first rank of Plutarch's masterpieces come, with these two, the *Marius*, the *Cato*, the *Alexander*, the *Demetrius*, the *Antonius*, and the *Pompey*. Modern writers have again and again repainted some of these portraits; but their colour has all been borrowed from Plutarch. These heroes live for all time in the *Parallel Lives*. There you shall learn the fashion of their faces, and the tricks of their speech; their seat on horseback and the cut of their clothes; with every tone and every gesture, all the charms and all the foibles that made them the men they were. Marcus Cato is what we call a 'character.' He hated doctors and, no doubt, schoolmasters; for did he not educate his own son, writing for him 'goodly 'histories, *in great letters with his oune hande*'? He taught the boy grammar and law, 'to throw a dart, to play at the 'sword, to vawt, to ride a horse, and to handle all sortes of 'weapons, . . . to fight with fistes, to abide colde and 'heate, and to swimme over a swift runninge river.' A 'new man' from a little village, his ideal was Manius Curius sitting 'by the fyer's side seething of perseneapes,' and he tried to educate everybody on the same lines. Being

The *Marcus Cato*

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Censor, he would proceed by way of imprisonment; but at all times he was ready to instruct with apothegms and 'wise 'sayings,' and 'he would taunte a marvelous fatte man' thus: 'See, sayd he, what good can such a body do to the 'commonwealth, that from his chine to his coddepece is 'nothing but belly?' This is but one of many 'wise sayings' reported of him, whereby 'we may the easilier conjecture his 'maners and nature.'[1] Even the *Alexander* seems a new thing still; so clear is the colouring, so vigorous and expressive the pose. 'Naturally,' you read, 'he had a very fayre white 'colour, mingled also with red,' and 'his body had so sweete 'a smell of itself, that all the apparell he wore next unto his 'body took thereof a passing delightful savor, as if it had 'been perfumed.' This was his idea of a holiday: 'After 'he was up in the morning, first of all he would doe sacrifice 'to the goddes, and then would goe to diner, passing awaie 'all the rest of the daye, in hunting, writing something, 'taking up some quarrell between soldiers, or els in studying. 'If he went any journey of no hastie busines, he would 'exercise himselfe by the waie as he went, shooting in his 'bowe, or learning to get up or out of his charret sodenly, 'as it ranne. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunt 'the foxe, or ketch birdes, as appeareth in his booke of 'remembrances for everie daie. Then when he came to his 'lodging, he would enter into his bath and rubbe and nointe 'himselfe: and would aske his pantelers and carvers if his 'supper were ready. He would ever suppe late, and was 'very curious to see, that every man at his bourde were a 'like served, and would sit longe at the table, bycause he 'ever loved to talke.' But take him at his work of leading others to the uttermost parts of the earth. Being parched with thirst, in the desert, 'he tooke the helmet with water, 'and perceiving that the men of armes that were about him, 'and had followed him, *did thrust out their neckes to look 'upon this water*, he gave the water back againe unto them 'that had geven it him, and thanked them but drank none 'of it. For, said he, *if I drink alone all these men here will*

The *Alexander Magnus*

[1] Plutarch's Cato is accepted bodily by Mommsen for a typical 'Roman 'burgess.' *History of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 429-432.

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'*faint.*' What a touch! And what wonder if his men 'beganne to spurre their horses, saying that they were 'not wearie nor athirst, *nor did think themselves mortall,* '*so long as they had such a king*'! There is more of self-restraint in Plutarch's portrait than appears in later copies. Alexander passes by the ladies of Persia 'without any sparke 'of affection towardes them . . . preferring the beautie 'of his continencie, before their swete faire faces.' But he was ever lavish of valour, loving 'his honour more then 'his kingdome or his life'; and it is with a 'marvelous faier 'white plume' in his helmet that he plunges first into the river at Granicus, and single-handed engages the army on the further bank. Centuries later at Ivry, Henri-Quatre, who learned Plutarch at his mother's knee, forgot neither the feather nor the act. But the dead Alexander never lacked understudies. All the kings, his successors, 'did but 'counterfeate' him 'in his purple garments, and in numbers 'of souldiers and gardes about their persones, and in a certaine 'facion and bowing of their neckes a little, and in uttering 'his speech with a high voyce.' One of them is Demetrius, The *Demetrius* 'the Fort-gainer,' with 'his wit and manners . . . that were 'both fearefull and pleasaunt unto men that frequented him'; his 'sweete countenance . . . and incomparable majestie'; 'more wantonly geven to follow any lust and pleasure than 'any king that ever was; yet alwayes very careful and 'diligent in dispatching matters of importance.' A leader of forlorn hopes and lewd masquerades, juggling with kingdoms as a mountebank with knives; the lover of innumerable queens and the taker of a thousand towns; in his defeat, 'not like unto a king, but like a common player 'when the play is done'; drinking himself to death for that he found 'it was that maner of life he had long desired' —this Poliorcetes, I say, has furnished Plutarch with the matter for yet another masterpiece, which indeed is one of the greater feats in romantic realism.

Of the *Antonius* with his 'Asiatic phrase,' it is enough to say that it is Shakespeare's Antony; and at the *Pompey* I have already glanced. The *Cæsar* is only less wonderful The *Cæsar* than these because the man is lost in the leader. Julius

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travels so fast, that you catch but glimpses as he races in his litter through the night; ever dictating to his secretaries, and writing by the way. But now and again you see him plainly—'leane, white and soft-skinned, and often 'subject to head-ache'; filling his soldiers with awe, not 'at his valiantnesse at putting himself at every instant in 'such manifest danger, since they knew 'twas his greedy 'desire of honor that set him a fire' . . . but because he 'continued all labour and hardnesse more than his bodie 'could beare.' A strange ruler of the world, this epileptic, 'fighting always with his disease'! He amazes friends and enemies by the swiftness of his movements, while Pompey journeys as in state from land to land. Pompey was of plebeian extraction, Julius was born into one of the sixteen surviving patrician *gentes*; yet Julius burns with the blasting heat of a new man's endeavour, Pompey as with the banked fires of hereditary self-esteem. And through all the commotion and the coil he is still mindful of the day of his youth 'when he had been acquainted with Servilia, who was 'extreamilie in love with him. And because Brutus was 'boorne in that time when their love was hottest he per-'suaded himself that he begat him.'[1] What of anguish does this not add to the sweep of the gesture wherewith the hero covered his face from the pedant's sword! With the *Cæsar* may stand the *Marius*, and the *Sylla*: Sulla the lucky man, *felix*, *Epaphroditus*, beloved of all women and the victor in every fight, who 'when he was in his chiefest authoritie would 'commonly eate and drinke with the most impudent jeasters 'and scoffers, and all such rake helles, as made profession 'of counterfeate mirth.' He laughed his way to complete political success; he was fortunate even in the weather for his funeral; and, as he epitaphed himself, 'no man did ever passe 'him, neither in doing good to his friends, nor in doing mis-'chief to his enemies.' Plutarch's Lucullus, being young and ambitious, marches further into the unknown East than any Roman had ventured. He fords the river on foot with the countless hosts of Tigranes on the farther shore, 'himselfe the 'foremost man,' and marches 'directly towardes his enemy,

The *Sulla*

The *Lucullus*

[1] *Brutus.*

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'armed with an "anima" of steele, made with scalloppe 'shelles, shining like the sunne.' He urges on through summer and winter, till the rivers are 'congealed with ice,' so that no man can 'passe over by forde: for they did no 'sooner enter but the ise brake and cut the vaines and 'sinews of the horse legges.' His men murmur, but he presses on: till 'the country being full of trees, woddes 'and forestes,' they are 'through wet with the snow that 'fell upon them,' and at last they mutiny and flatly refuse to take another step into the unknown. This is a Lucullus we forget. Plutarch gives the other one as well, and the two together make for him 'an auncient comedy,' the beginning whereof is tedious, but the latter end—with its 'feasts and 'bankets,' 'masks and mummeries,' and 'dauncing with 'torches,' its 'fine built chambers and high raised turrets 'to gaze a farre, environed about with conduits of water'; its superlative cook, too, and its 'library ever open to all 'comers'—is a matter to rejoice the heart of man. Crassus and Cicero complete his group of second-bests: Cicero 'dogge leane,' and 'a little eater,' 'so earnest and vehement 'in his oration that he mounted still with his voyce into the 'highest tunes: insomuch that men were affrayed it would 'one day put him in hazard of his life.' Here I may pause to note that Plutarch's references to public speaking are all observed. He writes from experience, and you might compile a manual of the art from him. Well did he know the danger of fluent earnestness. His Caius Gracchus 'had a servant '. . . who, with an instrument of musicke he had . . . ever 'stoode behind him; and when he perceived his Maister's 'voyce was a little too lowde, and that through choller he 'exceeded his ordinary speache, he played a soft stoppe be-'hind him, at the sonde whereof Caius immediately fell from 'his extreamitie and easilie came to himself againe.' Thus, too, his *Demosthenes and Cicero* sets forth full instructions for removing every other blemish of delivery.[1]

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Oratory

The painter of incident is scarce less great than the painter of men. Plutarch's picture of Cicero is completed by a presentment of his death, in which the artist's imagi-

The Painter of Incident

[1] See also his account of the several manners of Cleon and Pericles.

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and his Devices

nation rises to its full height. Hunted down by Antony's sworders, the orator is overtaken at night in a by-lane; he stretches out his head from the litter to look his murderers in the face; and 'his head and his beard 'being all white, and his face leane and wrinckled, for 'the extreame sorrowes he had taken, divers of them that 'were by held their handes before their eyes, whilest Heren-'nius did cruelly murder him.' Then the head was set up by Antony 'over the pulpit for orations,' and 'this was a 'fearefull and horrible sight unto the Romanes, who thought 'they saw not Ciceroes face, *but an image of Antonius life* '*and dispositions*' (Amyot: *une image de l'ame et de la nature d'Antonius*). This gift, at times almost appalling, of imaginative presentment, is the distinctive note of Plutarch's

Backgrounds

art. He uses it freely in his backgrounds, which are animated as are those in certain pictures of a bygone mode; so that behind his heroes armies engage, fleets are sunk, towns are sacked, and citadels escaladed. Sometimes his effect is

Restraint

produced by a rare restraint. In the *Alcibiades*, for instance, he tells how the Sicilian expedition was mooted which was to ruin both the hero and his country; and, as Carlyle might have done, at the corner of every street he shows you the groups of young men bragging of victory, and drawing plans of Syracuse in the dust. Sometimes the touch of terror is

Instancy

more immediate. Take his description of the Teutons from the *Marius*. Their voices were 'wonderful both straunge 'and beastly'; so Marius kept his men close till they should grow accustomed to such dreadful foes. Meanwhile the Teutons 'were passing by his campe six dayes continually 'together': 'they came raking by,' and 'marching all to-'gether in good array; making a noyse with their harness 'all after one sorte, they oft rehearsed their own name, '*Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons*'; and the Romans watched them, listening to the monotonous, unhuman call. Here

Peculiar Magic

and elsewhere Plutarch conveys, with a peculiar magic, the sense of great bodies of men and of the movements thereof. Now and then he secures his end by reporting a word or two from those that are spying upon others from afar. This is how he gives the space and silence that precede a

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battle. Tigranes, with his innumerable host, is watching Lucullus and the Romans, far away on the farther shore of the river. 'They seemed but a handful,' and kept 'following the streame to meete with some forde. . . . 'Tigranes thought they had marched away, and called 'for Taxiles, and sayd unto him, laughing: "Dost thou '"see, Taxiles, those goodly Roman legyons, whom thou '"praisest to be men so invincible, how they flie away now?" 'Taxiles answered the king againe: "I would your good '"fortune (O king) might work some miracle this day: for '"doubtless it were a straunge thing that the Romanes '"should flie. They are not wont to wear their brave cotes '"and furniture uppon their armour, when they meane onely '"but to marche in the fieldes: neither do they carie their '"shieldes and targets uncased, nor their burganets bare '"on their heades, as they do at this present, having throwen '"away their leather cases and coveringes. But out of '"doubt, this goodly furniture we see *so bright and glitter-* '"*ing in our faces*, is a manifest sign that they intend to '"fight, and that they marche towardes us." *Taxiles had* '*no sooner spoken these wordes, but Lucullus, in the view* '*of his enemies, made his ensign bearer to turne sodainely* '*that carried the first Eagle, and the bands tooke their* '*places to passe the river in order of battell.*' The proportion of the two armies, and the space between; the sun flashing on the distant shields; the long suspense; the king's laugh breaking the silence, which yet grows tenser, till suddenly the Romans wheel into line: in truth, they have been few between Plutarch and Tolstoï to give the scale and perspective of battles by observing such proportion in their art! Here Lucullus and a handful of Romans, like Clive and his Englishmen, overthrew a nation in arms; elsewhere Plutarch gives the other chance, and renders with touches equally subtle and direct the deepening nightmare of Crassus' march into the desert. He tells of the Parthian 'kettle drommes, hollow within,' and hung about with 'little bells and copper rings,' with which 'they 'all made a noise everywhere together, and it is like a dead 'sounde.' Does it not recall the Aztec war-drums on the

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Tigranes and Lucullus

Crassus in Parthia

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Noche Triste? Intent, too, on creating his impression of terror, this rare artist proceeds from the sense of hearing to the sense of sight. 'The Romanes being put in feare with this 'dead sounde, the Parthians straight threw the clothes and 'coverings from them that hid their armour, and then 'showed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian 'tempered steele, *that glared like fire*; and their horses 'barbed with steele and copper.' They canter round and round the wretched enemy, shooting their shafts as they go; and the ammunition never fails, for camels come up 'loden with quivers full of arrowes.' The Romans are shot through one by one; and when Crassus 'prayed and be-'sought them to charge . . . they showed him their handes 'fast nailed to their targets with arrowes, and their feete 'likewise shot thorow and nailed to the ground: so as they 'could neither flie, nor yet defende themselves.' Thus they died, one before the other, 'a cruell lingring death, crying 'out for anguish and paine they felt'; and 'turning and 'tormenting themselves upon the sande, they broke the 'arrowes sticking in them.' The realism of it! And the pathos of Crassus' speech, when his son's head is shown to him, which 'killed the Romanes hartes'! 'The grief and sorrow 'of this losse (my fellowes),' said he, 'is no man's but mine, 'mine only; but the noble successe and honor of Rome 'remaineth still invincible, so long as you are yet living.' After these two pictures of confidence and defeat I should like to give that one of the Romans after Pydna, where Paulus Æmilius was thought to have lost his son. It is a wonderful resurrection of departed life. There are the groups round the camp-fires; the sudden clustering of torches towards the one dark and silent tent; and then the busy lights crossing and recrossing, and scattering over the field. You hear first the droning songs of the tired and happy soldiers; then silence; then cries of anxiety and mournful echoes; then, of a sudden, comes the reappearance, 'all 'bloudied with new bloude like the swift-running grey 'hound fleshed with the bloude of the hare,' of him, the missing youth, 'that Scipio which afterwards destroyed 'both the citties of Carthage and Numantium.'

After Pydna

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It is hard to analyse the art, for the means employed are of the simplest; yet it is certain that they do recall to such as have known, and that they must suggest to others who have not, those sights and sounds and sensations which combine into a special enchantment about the time of the fall of darkness upon bodies of men who have drunk excitement and borne toil together in the day. How intense, too, the flash of imagination with which the coming Africanus is projected on the canvas! And the book abounds in such lightning impressions. Thus, Hannibal cracks a soldier's joke before Cannæ; he pitches the quip into his host, like a pebble into the pond; and the broken stillness ripples away down all the ranks in widening rings of laughter.[1] Sometimes the sketch is even slighter, and is yet convincing: as when the elder Scipio, being attacked by Cato for his extravagant administration, declares his 'intent to go to the wars *with full sayles*.' These are not chance effects but masterstrokes of imagination; yet that imagination, vivid and vivifying as it is, never leads Plutarch to attempt the impossible. He remains the supreme artist, and is content with suggesting—what is incapable of representation—that sense of the portentous, the overpowering, which is apparent immediately before, or immediately behind, some notable conjunction. Alexander sounds the charge which is to change the fortunes of the world, and Arbela is rendered in a few lines. But up till the instant of his sounding it, you are told of his every act. Plutarch, proceeding as leisurely as his hero, creates suspense out of delay. You are told that Alexander slept soundly far into the morning, and that he was called three times. You are told how carefully he dressed, and of each article of armour and apparel he put on: his 'Sicilian 'cassocke,' his 'brigandine of many foldes of canvas,' 'his 'head peece bright as silver,' and 'his coller sute like to 'the same all set full of precious stones.' The battle has begun between the outposts, and he is still riding down the lines on a hack: 'to spare Bucephal, because he was 'then somewhat olde.' He mounted the great horse 'always

Hannibal's Jest

Alexander at Arbela

[1] *Fabius Maximus.*

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INTRO-DUCTION

'at the last moment; and as soone as he was gotten up on 'his backe, the trumpet sounded, and he gave charge.' To-day it is made to seem as if that moment would never come; but at the last all things being ready, 'he tooke his launce 'in his left hande and, holding up his right hande unto 'heaven, besought the goddes . . . that if it were true, he 'was begotten of Jupiter, it would please them that day 'to helpe him and to incorage the Græcians. The sooth-'sayer Aristander was then a-horsebacke hard by Alex-'ander apparelled all in white, and a croune of gold on 'his head, who shewed Alexander when he made his 'prayer, an Eagle flying over his head, and pointing 'directly towards his enemies. This marvellously en-'couraged all the armie that saw it, and with this joy, 'the men of armes of Alexander's side, encouraging one 'another, did set spurres to their horse to charge upon the

Suspense out of Delay

'enemies.' Until the heroic instant you are compelled to note the hero's every deliberate movement. He and the little group of gleaming figures about him are the merest specks in the plain before the Macedonian army, itself but a handful in comparison to the embattled nations in front. The art is perfect in these flash-pictures of great moments in time: in the Athenians map-drawing in the dust, in the Romans watching the Ambrons raking by, in Tigranes' laugh, in Hannibal's joke, in Alexander's supreme gesture; and how instant in each the imaginative suggestion of dragging hours before rapid and irreparable events! Equally potent are the effects which Plutarch contrives by revealing all the consequences of a disaster in some swift, far-reaching glimpse. Thus, when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon,

After the Rubicon

'Rome itself was filled up with the flowing repaire of all 'the people who came thither *like droves of cattell.*' And thus does Sparta receive the news of her annihilation:—'At 'that time there was by chance a common feast day in the 'citie . . . when as the messenger arrived that brought the

Leuctra

'news of the battell lost at Leuctres. The Ephori knowing 'then that the rumor ranne all about; that they were all 'undone, and how they had lost the signorie and com-'maundement over all Grece: would not suffer them for

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'all this to breake off their daunce in the Theater, nor the 'citie in anything to chaunge the forme of their feast, but 'sent unto the parentes to everie man's house, to let them 'understande the names of them that were slaine at the 'battell, they themselves remaining still in the Theater to 'see the daunces and sportes continued, to judge who 'carried the best games away. The next morning when 'everie man knew the number of them that were slaine, and 'of those also that escaped: the parentes and frendes of 'them that were dead, met in the market place, looking 'cheerfully of the matter, and one of them embraced 'another. On thother side the parentes of them that 'scaped, kept their houses with their wives, as folk that 'mourned. . . . The mothers of them, that kept their 'sonnes which came from the battell, were sad and sorrow-'full, and spake not a word. Contrairily, the mothers of 'them that were slaine, *went friendly to visite one another*, '*to rejoyce together*.'[1] There is no word of the fight. As Thackeray gives you Waterloo in a picture of Brussels, so Plutarch gives you Leuctra, and with more of beauty and pathos, in a picture of Sparta. Of the Roman defeat at Cannæ there is a full and wonderful account; but what an effective touch is added when 'the Consul Terentius Varro 'returning backe to Rome, with the shame of his extreame 'misfortune and overthrowe, that he durste not looke upon 'any man: the Senate notwithstanding, *and all the people* '*following them, went to the gates of the cittie to meete him*, '*and dyd honourably receyve him*'!

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Cannæ and After

In these passages Plutarch, following the course of Greek tragedy, and keeping the action off the stage, gives the reverberation and not the shock of fate; but in many others the stark reality of his painting is its own sufficient charm. He abounds in unfamiliar aspects of familiar places: places he invests with (as it were) the magic born of a wandering son's return. Here is his Athens in her decrepitude. 'The poore citie of Athens which had escaped from so 'many warres, tyrannies and civil dissensions,' is now besieged by Sulla without, and oppressed by the tyrant

His Choice of Occasions

[1] *Agesilaus*.

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Aristion within; and in his presentment of her condition there is, surely, a foreshadowing of those dark ages when historic sites became the scenes of new tragedies that were merely brutal and insignificant. At Athens 'men were driven 'for famine to eate feverfew that grew about the castell'; also, they 'caused old shoes and old oyle pots to be sodden 'to deliver some savor unto that which they did eate.' Meanwhile 'the tyrant himselfe did nothing all day long 'but cramme in meat, drinke dronke, daunce, maske, scoff 'and flowte at the enemies (suffering the holy lampe of 'Minerva to go out for lacke of oyle).' Is there not a grimness of irony about this picture of the drunken and sinister buffoon sitting camped in the Acropolis, like a toad in a ruined temple, 'magnifying the dedes of Theseus 'and insulting the priestes'? At last the Roman enters 'the city about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order, 'making a marvellous noise with a number of hornes and 'sounding of trompets, and all his army with him in 'order of battell, crying, "To the sack, to the sack: '"Kill, kill."'[1] A companion picture is that of a Syracuse Thucydides never knew.[2] Archimedes is her sole defence; and thanks to him, the Roman ships are 'taken 'up with certaine engines fastened within one contrary to 'an other, which made them turne in the ayer like a 'whirlegigge, and so cast them upon the rockes by the 'towne walles, and splitted them all to fitters, to the 'great spoyle and murder of the persons that were within 'them.' Elsewhere the Mediterranean pirates, polite as our own highwaymen, are found inviting noble Romans to walk the plank;[3] for Plutarch never misses a romantic touch. Some of his strongest realisations are of moments when fate hangs by a hair: as that breathless and desperate predicament of Aratus and his men on their ladders against the walls of Sicyon; with the 'curste curres' that would not cease from barking; the captain of the watch 'visiting the soldiers with a little bell'; 'the number of 'torches and a great noyse of men that followed him'; the great greyhound kept in a little tower, which began to answer

Sulla before Athens

Marcellus before Syracuse

Breathless Moments

[1] *Sylla.* [2] *Marcellus.* [3] *Pompey.*

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the curs at large 'with a soft girning: but when they came 'by the tower where he lay, he barked out alowde, that all 'the place thereabouts rang of his barking'; the ladders shaking and bowing 'by reason of the weight of the men, 'unless they did come up fayer and softly one after another,' till at last, 'the cocks began to crowe, and the country folke 'that brought things to the market to sell, began to come apace 'to the towne out of every quarter.'[1] Later in the same life you have the escalading of the Acrocorinthus: when Aratus and the storming party, with their shoes off, being lost on the slopes, 'sodainely, even as it had been by miracle, 'the moone appearing through the clowdes, brought them to 'that part of the wall where they should be, and straight the 'moone was shadowed againe'; so they cut down the watch, but one man escaped, and 'the trompets forthwith 'sounded the alarom . . . all the citie was in an uprore, 'the streets were straight full of people running up and 'downe, and of lights in every corner.' Plutarch's management of light, I should remark, is always astonishingly real; he never leaves the sun or the moon out of his picture, nor the incidence of clouds and of the dust of battle. Thus varied his sunshine leaps and wavers on distant armour, or glares at hand from Margian steel; or his moonlight glints on a spear, and fades as the wrack races athwart the sky.

Light in Plutarch

It is all the work of an incomparable painter; there is any amount of it in the *Parallel Lives*;[2] and, like his portraits and his landscapes,[3] it has an æsthetic value which sets it far in front of his moral reflections. For value depends, in part, on supply; and of this kind of art there is less in literature than there is of ethical disquisition. Moreover, in the *Parallel Lives* the proportions are reversed, and the volume

The Value of his Art

[1] *Aratus.*

[2] See the rousing of Greece in the *Philopœmen*; the declaration of liberty in the *Flaminius*; the squadron of the Lacedæmonians at Platæa in the *Aristides*; the glimpse of Philip at Chæronea gazing at the 'Holy Band 'of Thebans all dead on the grounde' in the *Pelopidas*; the first ride of Alexander on Bucephalus in the *Alexander*; the Macedonians at Pydna in the *Paulus Æmilius.*

[3] See the country of the Cimbri in the *Marius*, and the campaigns of Lucullus and Crassus.

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of Plutarch's painting is very much greater than the volume of Plutarch's moralities. And in addition to volume, there is charm. His pictures have kept their 'flourishing fresh-'ness' untarnished through the ages; whereas his moral sayings, being sound, have long since been accepted, and, as I said, are grown stale. His morality is ours; but he had an unique opportunity for depicting the politics, the personalities, and the activity of a world which had passed away. A little earlier, and he might have laboured like Thucydides, but only at a part of it. A little later, and much would have perished which he has set down and saved. He paints it as a whole, and on that account is sometimes slighted for a compiler of legends; yet he had the advantage of personal contact with those legends while they were still alive; and again and again, as you read, this contact strikes with a pleasant shock. To illustrate his argument he will refer, by the way, to the statue of Themistocles in the Temple of Artemis; to the effigies of Lucullus at Chæronea; to the buildings of Pericles in their divinely protracted youth. The house of Phocion at Melita, and the 'cellar' in which Demosthenes practised his oratory, were 'whole even to my time.' The descendants of the soldier who slew Epaminondas are, 'to this day,' known and distinguished by the name 'machœriones.'[1] On the battlefield of Chæronea 'there was an olde oke seene in my time 'which the country men commonly called Alexander's oke, 'bicause his tent or pavilion was fastened to it.'[2] His grandfather Nicarchus had told him how the defeat of Antony relieved his natal city from a requisition for corn.[3] From his other grandfather, Lamprias, he heard of a physician, his friend, who, 'being a young man desirous to 'see things,' went over Cleopatra's kitchen with one of Antony's cooks; and there, among 'a world of diversities of 'meates,' encountered with the 'eight wild boares, rosted 'whole,' which have passed bodily into Shakespeare. This contact was rarely immediate; but it was personal, and it is therefore quickening. At its touch a dead world lived again for Plutarch, and by his art that dead world lives for us;

The Plutarchian World

[1] *Agesilaus.* [2] *Alexander.* [3] *Antonius.*

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so that in the *Lives*, as in no other book, all antiquity, alike in detail and in expanse, lies open and revealed to us, 'flat as to an 'eagle's eye.' We may study it closely, and see it whole; and to do so is to dispossess the mind of many illusions fostered by books of a narrower scope. Juvenal, the satirist, and Petronius, the arbiter of a mode, do not even pretend to show forth the whole of life; yet from their works, and from others of a like purview, men have constructed a fanciful world of unbounded cruelty and immitigable lust. This same disproportion between premise and conclusion runs through the writing of many moderns: just as from the decoration of a single chamber at Pompeii there have been evoked whole cities, each in the image of a honeycomb whose cells are *lupanaria*. Even so some archæologist of the future might take up an obscene gurgoyle, and transfigure Christianity to its image! This antiquity of cruelty and lust has been evolved for censure by these, and by those for praise; yet if Plutarch be not the most collossal, taking, and ingenious among the world's liars, we cannot choose but hold that it never existed. For, apart from the coil of politics and the clamour and romance of adventure, his book discovers us the religious and the home lives of old-time Italy and Greece; and we find them not dissimilar from our own. We see them, it is true, with the eyes of a kindly and a moderate man. Yet he was no apologist, with a case to plead; and if we may be sure that he was never uncharitable, we may be equally sure that he extenuated nothing. He censures freely conduct which, according to the extreme theory of ancient immorality, should scarce have excited his surprise; and he alludes, by the way, in a score of places, to a loving-kindness, extending even to slaves and animals, of which, according to the same theory, he could have known nothing, since its very existence is denied. The State was more than it is now; but you cannot glean that the Family was less, even in Sparta. Shakespeare took from Plutarch the love of Coriolanus for his mother, and found in it a sufficient motive for his play. But Veturia[1] is by no means the only beloved mother in the *Lives*, nor is Corio-

Juvenal and Petronius

The State and the Family

[1] Shakespeare's Volumnia.

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lanus the only adoring son. Epaminondas thought himself 'most happy and blessed' because his father and mother had lived to see the victory he won;[1] and Sertorius, making

The Mother

overtures for peace, said he had 'rather be counted the 'meanest citizen in Rome, than being a banished man to be 'called Emperor of the world,' and the 'chiefest cause . . . 'was the tender love he bare unto his mother.'[2] When Antipater submitted to Alexander certain well-founded accusations against Olympia's misgovernment: '"Loe," said 'he, "Antipater knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers '"eye will wipe out tenne thousande such letters."'[3] In face of the parting between Cratesiclea and her son Cleomenes, one may doubt if in Sparta itself the love between mother and son was more than dissembled; for, on the eve of his sailing, 'she took Cleomenes aside into the temple of 'Neptune and imbracinge and kissinge him; perceivinge 'that his harte yerned for sorrowe of her departure, she 'sayed unto him: "O kinge of Lacedæmon, lette no man see '"for shame when we come out of the temple, that we have '"wept and dishonoured Sparta."' Indeed, the national love of Spartans for all children born to Sparta seems to have been eked out by the fonder and the less indifferent affection of each parent for his own. If in battle Henri Quatre played Alexander, in the nursery his model was Agesilaus,

The Child

'who loved his children deerely: and would play with 'them in his home when they were little ones, and ride 'upon a little cocke horse or a reede, as a horseback.'[4] Paulus Æmilius being 'appointed to make warre upon 'King Perseus, all the people dyd honorably companie him 'home unto his house, where a little girl (a daughter of his) 'called Tertia, being yet an infant, came weeping unto her 'father. He, making muche of her, asked her why she 'wept. The poore girl answered, colling him about the 'necke, and kissing him:—"Alas, father, wot you what? '"our Perseus is dead." *She ment by it a litle whelpe so 'called, which was her playe fellowe.*' Plutarch had lost his own daughter, and he wrote a letter of consolation to his

[1] *Coriolanus.* [2] *Sertorius.* [3] *Alexander.* [4] *Agesilaus.*

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wife, which Montaigne gave to *his* wife when she was stricken with the same sorrow: 'bien marry,' as he says, 'de quoy la 'fortune vous a rendu ce present si propre.'[1] In the *Lives* he is ever most tender towards children, acknowledging the mere possibility of their loss for an ever-abiding terror. 'Nowe,' he writes in the *Solon*, 'we must not arme ourselves with poverty 'against the grief of losse of goodes; neither with lack of affec- 'tion against the losse of our friendes; neither with want of 'mariage against the death of children; but we must be 'armed with reason against misfortune.' Over and over again you come upon proof of the love and the compassion children had. At the triumph of the same Æmilius, through three days of such magnificence as Mantegna has displayed, the eyes of Rome were all for Perseus' children: 'when 'they sawe the poore little infants, that they knewe not the 'change of their hard fortune . . . for the compassion they 'had of them, almost let the father passe without looking 'upon him.' Of Æmilius' own sons, one had died five days before, and the other three days survived, that triumph for which the father had been given four hundred golden diadems by the cities of Greece. But he pronounced their funeral orations himself 'in face of the whole cittie . . . not 'like a discomforted man, but like one rather that dyd com- 'forte his sorrowfull countrymen for his mischance. He 'told them . . . he ever feared Fortune, mistrusting her 'change and inconstancy, and specially in the last warre.' But Rome had won; and all was well, 'saving that 'Perseus yet, conquered as he is, hath this comforte left 'him: to see his children living, and that the conqueror 'Æmylius hath lost his.' This love between children and parents might be expected in any picture of any society; yet it is conspicuous in the *Parallel Lives* as it is not, I believe, in any reconstruction of the Plutarchian world. Note, too, the passionate devotion between brothers, displayed even by Cato of Utica,[2] to the scandal of other Stoics; and note everywhere the loyal comradeship between

INTRO-DUCTION

The Father

The Brother

[1] Cruserius, who translated the *Lives* into Latin (1561), by a strange coincidence, mourned his daughter's loss and found consolation in his task.

[2] *Cato Utican.*

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INTRODUCTION

The Wife

Animals and Slaves

husbands and wives. To Plutarch wedlock is so sacred that he is fierce in denouncing a certain political marriage as being 'cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for Sylla's time, rather 'than agreable to Pompey's nature.'[1] Perhaps the commonest view of antique morality is that which accepts a family not unlike the family we know, but at the same time denies the ancients all consideration for their domestic animals and slaves. This tendency, it is thought, is a product of Christianity; and the example of the elder Cato is sometimes quoted in proof of the view. But in Plutarch's *Cato*, the Roman's habit of selling his worn-out slaves is given for an oddity, for the exceptional practice of an eccentric old man; and Plutarch takes the occasion to expound his own feeling. 'There is no reason,' he writes, 'to use livinge 'and sensible thinges as we would use an old shooe or a 'ragge: to cast it out upon the dongehill when we have 'worn it and it can serve us no longer. For if it were for no 'respect els but to use us alwayes to humanitie, we must ever 'showe ourselves kinde and gentle, even in such small poyntes 'of pitie. And as for me, I coulde never finde in my heart to 'sell my drawt oxe that hadde ploughed my land a long time, 'bicause he coulde plowe no longer for age.' Here we have a higher standard of humanity than obtains in living England, and it is a mistake to suppose, as some have done, that it was peculiar to Plutarch. On the contrary, his book is alive with illustrations of the same consideration for domestic pets and beasts of service. A mule employed in building a temple at Athens, used to 'come of herselfe to 'the place of labour': a docility, 'which the people liked so 'well in the poore beast, that they appointed she shoulde be 'kept whilest she lived, at the charge of the town.' How many corporations, I wonder, would lay a like load on the rates to-day? In a score of passages is evidence of the belief that 'gentleness goeth farther than justice.'[2] When the Athenians depart from Attica, the most heartrending picture is of the animals they leave deserted on the sea-coast. 'There was besides a certen pittie that made men's harts to 'yerne, when they saw the poore doggs, beasts, and cattell

[1] *Pompey.* [2] *Cato.*

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'ronne up and doune bleating, mouing, and howling out 'alowde after their masters in token of sorrow when they 'dyd imbark.' Xantippus' dog, 'that swam after them to 'Salamis and dyed presently,' is there interred; and 'they 'saye at this daye the place called the Doggs Grave is the 'very place where he was buried.'[1] With like honour the mares of Cimon, who was fond of racing, are buried at his side. Indeed, the ancients, far from being callous, were, as some would now think, over-sentimental about their horses and dogs. Having no slaves of our own, it is easy for us to denounce slave-owning. But this is noteworthy: that while Plutarch, the ancient, in dealing with the revolt of Spartacus and his fellow-slaves, speaks only of 'the wickedness of their 'master,' and pities their hard lot, North, the modern, dubs them '*rebellious rascalls*,'[2] without a word of warrant either in the nearer French or in the remoter Greek.

Plutarch's World and Ours

It is, indeed, far easier to pick up points of resemblance than to discover material differences between the social life depicted by Plutarch and our own; and the likeness extends even to those half-shades of feeling and illogical sentiment which often seem peculiar to a generation. To turn from contemporary life to the *Parallel Lives*, is to find everywhere the same natural but inconsequent deference to birth amid democratic institutions;[3] the same belief that women have recently won a freedom unknown to their grandmothers; the same self-satisfaction in new developments of culture; the same despair over the effects of culture on a pristine morality. There are even irresistible appeals to the good old days. Numa, for instance, 'enured women to speak little by for-'bidding them to speak at all except in the presence of their 'husbands,' and with such success, that a woman 'chauncing 'one daye to pleade her cause in persone before the judges 'the Senate hearing of it, did send immediately unto the 'oracle of Apollo, to know what that did prognosticate to 'the cittie.'[4] Here was a beginning; and the rest soon

[1] *Themistocles.*
[2] *Crassus.*
[3] See Themistocles as the rival of Cimon.
[4] *Comparison of Numa Pompilius with Lycurgus.*

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INTRODUCTION

followed. Just as Greek historians had branded the first murderers and parricides by name, even so 'the Romanes doe 'note . . . that the wife of one Pinarius, called Thalœa, was 'the first which ever brauled or quarrelled with her mother-'in-law.'[1] That was in the days of Tarquin. By Pompey's time—though he, indeed, was fortunate in a wife unspoiled by her many accomplishments—the revolution is complete.

Culture

His Cornelia 'could play well on the harpe, was skilfull in 'musicke and geometrie, and tooke great pleasure also in 'philosophie, and not vainly without some profit'; yet was she 'very modest and sober in behaviour, without braul-'ing and foolish curiosity, which commonly young women 'have, that are indued with such singular giftes.' Such a woman was the product of the Greek culture, and for that Plutarch has nothing but praise.[2] It was first introduced, he tells you, after the siege of Syracuse; for Marcellus it was who brought in 'fineness and curious tables,' 'pic-'tures and statues,' to supplant the existing 'monu-'ments of victories': things in themselves 'not pleasant, but 'rather fearfull sightes to look upon, farre unfit for femi-nine eyes.'[3] In all this there is little that differs from the life we know: you have the same facts and the same reflexions—especially the same reflexions. For our own age is akin to the age of Plutarch, in so far as both are certain

The Greek Influence

centuries in rear of an influx of Hellenic ideas. Those ideas reconquered the West in the fifteenth century; and since this second invasion the results of the first have been repeated in many directions. Certain phases, indeed, of thought and feeling in Plutarch's age are re-echoed to-day still more distinctly than in the world of his Renaissance translators. For in remoteness from the point of first contact with Greek influence, and in the tarnish of disillusion which must inevitably discolour any prolonged development, this century of ours is more nearly allied to Plutarch's than the sixteenth was, with its young hope and unbounded enthusiasm. The older activity reminds you of the times which

[1] *Comparison of Numa Pompilius with Lycurgus.*

[2] See his defence of it in *Cicero*, his attack on Cato for opposing it, and *passim*.

[3] *Marcellus.*

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Plutarch painted; the modern temper, of the times in which he wrote. INTRODUCTION

But in the frail rope which the mind of man is ever weaving, that he may cling to something in the void of his ignorance, there is one strand which runs through all the Plutarchian centuries; which persists in his own age and on into the age of his early translators; but which in England has been fretted almost through. Nobody can read the *Parallel Lives* without remarking the signal change which has fallen upon man's attitude towards the supernatural. Everywhere in Plutarch, by way of both narrative and comment, you find a confirmed belief in omens, portents, and ghosts: not a pious opinion, but a conviction bulking huge in everyday thought, and exerting a constant influence on the ordinary conduct of life. Death and disaster, good fortune and victory, never come without forewarning. Before great Cæsar fell there were 'fires in the element . . . spirites 'running up and downe in the nighte' and 'solitary birdes 'to be seene at noone dayes sittinge in the great market-'place.'[1] Nor only before a great event, but also after it, occur these sympathetic perturbations in the other world: 'the night being come, such things fell out, as maye be 'looked for after so terrible a battle.'[2] The wood quaked, and a voice cried out of heaven! Allied to and alongside of this belief in an Unseen in touch with the living world at every hour of the day-time and night, you have the solemn practice of obscure rites and the habitual observance of customs half-insignificant. Some of these are graceful; others embarrassing. The divination, for instance, of the Spartan Ephors must often, at least in August and November, have shaken public confidence in the State; for they 'did sit downe in some open place, and beheld the stars in 'the element, to see if they saw any starre shoote from one 'place to another,' and '*if they did, then they accused their* '*king*.'[3] To us, this giving of the grotesque and the terrible in the same breath, without distinction or comment, is strangely incongruous. Sulla's bloody entry into Rome was doubly foreshadowed: there was the antic disposition of

A Difference

Omens

Rites and Customs

[1] *Julius Cæsar.* [2] *Publicola.* [3] *Agis and Cleomenes.*

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INTRODUCTION

certain rats, which first gnawed 'some juells of golde in a 'church,' and then, being trapped by the 'sexton,' ate up their young; and again, 'when there was no cloude to be 'seen in the element at all, men heard such a sharp sound 'of a trompet, as they were almost out of their wits at so 'great a noise.'[1] No scientific explanation, even if one were forthcoming, could suffice to lull suspicion in a pious mind. Æmilius understood as well as any the cause of the moon's eclipse: 'nevertheless, he being a godly devout man, so soon 'as he perceyved the moone had recovered her former bright-

Dies nefasti

'ness againe, he sacrificed eleven calves.'[2] To add to the inconvenience of this habit of mind, there were more unlucky days in the year than holidays in the mediæval calendar. It was such a day that marred the prospect of Alcibiades' return: for 'there were some that misliked very much the time of 'his landing: saying it was very unluckie and unfortunate. 'For the very day of his returne, fell out by chaunce on the 'feast which they call Plynteria, as you would saye, the 'washing day.'[3] Such feasts, with their half-meaningless

Festivals

customs, accompanied the belief in portents and ghosts and the ordinary forms of ritual, being but another fruit of the same intellectual habit. Some of them seem absurd anachronisms in the Rome of Julius Cæsar. At the Lupercal, for instance, even in Cæsar's day, as every one knows from Shakespeare, young men of good family still ran naked through the streets, touching brides at the request of their husbands.[4] Again, on the feast of the goddess Matuta, 'they cause a chamber mayde to enter into her temple, and 'there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her 'out of the temple, and do embrace their brothers' children 'rather than their own.'[5] There is no end to these customs: customs which are as it were *costumes* of the mind, partly devised to cover its nakedness, and partly expressed in fancy. Plutarch tries sometimes to explain their origin; but he can only hazard a guess. Nobody remembers what they mean. They are, rather, a picturesque means of asserting that there really is an undercurrent of meaning in the world.

[1] *Sylla.* [2] *Paulus Æmilius.* [3] *Alcibiades.*
[4] *Julius Cæsar.* [5] *Furius Camillus.*

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INTRODUCTION

Beyond and above these mummeries, now so strange, in a loftier range of Plutarch's thought is much that is familiar and near. Of some miracles he writes almost as an apologist. It is said that 'images . . . have been heard to sighe: that they 'have turned: and that they have made certen signes with 'their eyes.' These reports 'are not,' he adds, 'incredible, 'nor lightly to be condemned. But for such matters it is 'daungerous to give too much credit to them, as also to dis-'credit them too much, by reason of the weaknes of man's 'nature, which hath no certen boundes, nor can rule itself, 'but ronneth sometimes to vanitie and superstition, and 'otherwhile also despiseth and condemneth holy and divine 'matters.'[1] On such points of belief, as on the immediate inspiration of individuals, 'the waye is open and large':[2] each must decide for himself, remembering that religion is the mean between superstition and impiety. On the other hand, never once does Plutarch admit a doubt of the Divine Government of the world. He approves his Alexander's saying: 'that God generally was father to all mortall men.'[3] And in a magnificent passage of North's English which might almost have come out of the book of Common Prayer, he upholds the view of Pythagoras: 'who thought that God was 'neither sensible nor mortall, but invisible, incorruptible and only intelligible.'[4]

God in Plutarch

III

Two Translators

In substance, then, the book stands alone. Its good fortune has been also unexampled. By a chance this singular image of the ancient world has been happy beyond others in the manner of its transmission to our time. To

[1] *Furius Camillus.* [2] *Numa Pompilius.*

[3] Alexander. Cf. *Plutarch's Morals*, Phil. Holland, 1657: the eighth book of *Symposiaques*; the first question, p. 628.

[4] In the *Brutus* North credits its hero with a declaration of belief in another life. But this is a mistranslation of Amyot's French. We know, however, with what passionate conviction Plutarch held this belief in 'a better 'place, and a happier condition,' from the conclusion of his 'consolatory 'letter, sent unto his own wife, as touching the death of her and his 'daughter.'—*Morals*, Phil. Holland, 1657, p. 442.

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INTRODUCTION

quote a Quarterly Reviewer:[1] 'There is no other case of an 'ancient writer—whether Greek or Latin—becoming as well 'known in translations as he was in the classical world, or as 'great modern writers are in the modern one'; and for this chance we have to thank one man, Jaques Amyot. But for his version we should have received none from North; and without these two, Plutarch must have remained sealed to all but Greek scholars. For the Daciers and the Langhornes could never have conquered in right of their own impoverished prose. They palmed it off on a public still dazzled by the fame wherewith their forerunners had illuminated the *Lives*; and when these were ousted from recollection, their own fate became a simple matter of time.

Jaques Amyot

The son of a butcher,[2] or a draper,[3] Jaques Amyot was born at Melun in 1513, and was sent as a boy by his parents to study at Paris. You find him there at fifteen, at Cardinal Lemoine's college, and two years later following the lectures of Thusan and Danès. For the University, still hide-bound in scholastic philosophy, was nothing to his purpose of mastering Greek. It was hard in those years, even for the rich, to find books in Greek character,[4] and Amyot must live on the loaves his mother sent him by the river barges, and wait for a pittance on his fellow-students. Yet he toiled on with romantic enthusiasm, reading by the firelight for lack of candles; till at last he knew all they could teach him, and left Paris to become a tutor at Bourges. There, thanks to Marguerite de Navarre,[5] he obtained a chair in the University, whence he lectured twice a day on Greek and Latin letters during twelve years. It was in these years that he began his great work as a translator: completing in all probability the *Æthiopian History*,[6] and the more famous

[1] Vol. cx., No. 220, p. 459, Oct. 1861. Apparently Archbishop Trench.
[2] Brantôme.
[3] Blignières. According to another, *parentibus honestis magis quam copiosis.*
[4] Before 1530 only a few Homeric *Hymns* and some essays of Plutarch had been published.
[5] The Marguerite of *The Heptameron.*
[6] Published in 1547 with an interesting passage in the proem: 'Et n'avoit 'ce livre jamais esté imprimé, sinon depuis que la librairie du roi Matthias

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Daphnis and Chloe.[1] But, at the instance of Marguerite's brother, François I., he also began the *Lives*, receiving by way of incentive the Abbacy of Bellozane;[2] and to prosecute this purpose, soon after the king's death, he made a scholar's pilgrimage to Italy. In the Library of St. Mark at Venice he rediscovered the *Lives* of Diodorus Siculus;[3] in the Library of the Vatican a more perfect MS. of the *Æthiopian History*. But search as he might during his two years' stay at Rome, he could never recover the missing lives of Plutarch. He laboured on the text, but those which *l'injurie du temps nous avoit enviées*,[4] were gone past retrieving. On his return the scholar became a courtier, in the castles of the Loire, and something of a diplomat; for he acted as the emissary of Henri II. at the Council of Trent, playing an inconspicuous part grossly exaggerated by De Thou. In 1554 he was appointed tutor to the young princes who were to rule as Charles IX. and Henri III. In 1559 he published the *Lives*; the next year, on the accession of his elder pupil, he was made Grand Almoner of France; and in 1570 he became Bishop of Auxerre. In 1572 he published the *Morals*; but this book, like the *Françiade*, published in the same year, fell comparatively dead. The halcyon days of scholars and poets ended with the St. Bartholomew; and thenceforward the darkness deepened over these two and all the brilliant company which had gathered round Catherine and Diane de Poictiers. In 1588 the full fury of the Catholic League fell upon Amyot, for standing by his king after the murder of the Guise. His diocese revolted at the instigation of Claude Trahy, a truculent monk; and the last works he published are his *Apology* and *Griefs des Plaintes*. In August 1589 he wrote to the Duc de Nivernais: 'Je suis le plus affligé,

First Edition of the *Vies*

'Corvin fut saccagée, au quel sac il se trouva un soldat allemant qui mit la 'main dessus pour ce qu'il le vit richement estofé, et le vendit à celuy qui 'depuys le fit imprimer en Allemaigne.'

[1] Published without his name as late as 1559. As tutor to the young princes he seems to have entertained a certain scruple, which even led him to suppress one passage in his translation.

[2] 1546. The last benefice bestowed by François.

[3] Of which he translated and published seven in 1554.

[4] Amyot: *Aux Lecteurs*.

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'destruit et ruiné pauvre prebstre qui, comme je crois, soit en 'France'; in 1591 he was divested of his dignities;[1] and in 1593 he died. His long life reflects the changing features of his time. In youth he was a scholar accused of scepticism, in old age a divine attacked for heresy, and for some pleasant years between, a courtier pacing with poets and painters the long galleries of Amboise and Chenonceaux: as we may think, well within earshot of those wide bay-windows where the daughters of France 'entourées de leurs gouvernantes et 'filles d'honneur, s'edifioient grandement aux beaux dits des 'Grecs et des Romains, rememoriez par le doulx Plutarchus.'[2]

He was, then, a scholar touched with the wonder of a time which saw, as in Angelo's *Last Judgment*, the great works of antiquity lifting their limbs from the entombing dust of oblivion; and he was a courtier behind the scenes in a great age of political adventure. Was he also an accurate translator? According to De Thou, he rendered his original 'majore elegantiâ quam fide'; according to Meziriac,[3] he was guilty of two thousand blunders.[4] The verdict was agreeable to the presumption of the seventeenth century, and was, of course, confirmed by the eighteenth; but it has been revised. Given the impossibility of finding single equivalents in the young speech of the Renaissance, for the literary and philosophic connotations of a language laboured during six hundred years; and given the practice of choosing without comment the most plausible sense of a corrupted passage, the better opinion seems to be that Amyot lost little in truth, and gained everything in charm. 'It is sur-'prising,' says Mr. Long,[5] and his word shall be the last, 'to 'find how correct this old French translation generally is.'

His Accuracy

His Style

The question of style is of deeper importance. Upon this Ste.-Beuve[6] acutely remarks that the subtlety of Plutarch, as of Augustine, and the artless good-nature of Amyot belong each to its age; and, further, are more apparent to us than

[1] Grand Almoner and Librarian of the Royal Library.
[2] Brantôme.
[3] Who undertook to translate Plutarch, but failed to do so.
[4] *Discours de la Traduction*, 1635 (cf. Blignières, p. 435).
[5] *Plutarch's Lives*; Aubrey Stewart, M.A., and the late George Long, M.A., 1880, vol. i. p. xvii.
[6] *Causeries du Lundi*, iv. 469.

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real in their authors. We may say, indeed, without extravagance, that the youth of Amyot's style, modifying the age of Plutarch's, achieves a mean in full and natural harmony with Plutarch's matter. In Amyot's own opinion, so great a work must appeal to all men of judgment 'en quelque style 'qu'il soit mis, pourveu qu'il s'entende';[1] yet his preoccupation on this point was punctilious. He found in Plutarch a 'scabreuse asperité'—'épineuse et ferrée' are Montaigne's epithets—yet set himself 'à representer aucunement et à 'adumbrer la forme de style et manière de parler d'iceluy':[2] apologising to any who on that account should find his language less 'coulant' than of yore. But Amyot was no pedant; he would render his original, not ape him; he would write French, and not rack it. He borrowed at need from Greek and Italian, but he was loyal to his own tongue. 'Nous prendrons,' said he—and the canon is unimpeachable—'les mots qui sont les plus propres pour signifier la chose 'dont nous voulons parler, ceux qui nous sembleront plus 'doux, qui sonneront le mieux à l'oreille, qui seront cou-'tumièrement en la bouche des bien parlants, qui seront 'bons françois et non etrangers.' To render late Greek into early French is not easy; so he takes his time. Not a word is there save to further his conquest of Plutarch's meaning; but all his words are marshalled in open order, and they pace at leisure. For his own great reward Montaigne wrote: 'Je donne 'la palme avecque raison, ce me semble, a Jaques Amyot, sur 'tous nos escripvains François'; and he remains the earliest classic accepted by the French Academy. But for our delight he found Plutarch a language which could be translated into Elizabethan English.

His Aim in Translation

His Results

If Amyot was the right man for Plutarch, North was the right man for Amyot. He was born the second and youngest son of Edward, first Baron North, about the year 1535, and educated, in all probability, at Peterhouse, Cambridge.[3] His father was one of those remarkable men of law who, through all the ranging political and religious vicissitudes under

Sir Thomas North

[1] Dedication to Henri II. [2] *Aux Lecteurs.*

[3] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, which gives fuller information than I have found elsewhere.

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Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Jane, Mary, and Elizabeth—so disastrous to the older nobility—ever contrived to make terms with the winning side; until, dying in 1564, a peer of the realm and Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, he was buried in Kirtling Church, where his monumental inscription may still be read in the chancel. His son Thomas was also entered a student at

Lincoln's Inn

Lincoln's Inn (1557), but he soon preferred letters before law. He was generally, Leicester wrote to Burghley, 'a 'very honest gentleman, and hath many good things in him, 'which are drowned only by poverty.' In particular, we are told by his great-nephew, the fourth Baron, he was 'a man 'of courage,' and in the days of the Armada we find him taking command, as Captain, of three hundred men of Ely. Fourteen years before (in 1574) he had accompanied his brother Roger, the second Baron, in his Embassy-Extra-

France

ordinary to Henri III.: a mission of interest to us, as it cannot but have encountered him with Amyot, and may have determined him to translate the *Lives*. He was already an author. In December 1557 he had published, with a dedication to Queen Mary, his translation of Guevara's *Libro Aureo*,[1] a Spanish adaptation of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius; and in 1570 *The Morall Philosophie of Doni* . . . 'a worke first compiled in the Indian tongue.'[2] For the rest, his immortal service to English letters brought him little wealth, but much consideration from his neighbours, his kinsmen, and his sovereign. In 1568 he was presented with

Rewards

the freedom of the city of Cambridge. In 1576 his brother gave him the 'lease of a house and household stuff.' He was knighted about 1591; he received the Commission of the Peace in Cambridgeshire in 1592; in 1601 he got a pension of £40 from the Queen, duly acknowledged in his dedication of the lives added to the *Plutarch* of 1603. He died, it is likely, before this edition saw the light: a valiant and courteous gentleman, and the earliest master of great English prose.

[1] Subsequent editions, 1568, 1582, 1619.
[2] Second edition, 1601. Reprinted as *The Fables of Bidpai*, with an Introduction by Joseph Jacobs, 1888.

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He also thought the *Lives* a book 'meete to be set forth 'in English.'[1] Truly: but in what English? He writes of a Muse 'called Tacita,[2] as ye would saye, ladye Silence.' Should we? Turning to a modern translation, I find 'Tacita, 'which means silent or dumb.' The glory has clearly departed: but before seeking it again in North's unrivalled language, I must ask of him, as I have asked of Amyot, Was he an accurate translator? I do not believe there are a score of passages throughout his 1175 folio pages[3] in which he impairs the sense of his original. And most of these are the merest slips, arising from the necessity imposed on him of breaking up Amyot's prolonged periods, and his subsequent failure in the attribution of relatives and qualifications. They are not of the slightest consequence, if the reader, on finding an obscurity, will rely on the general sense of the passage rather than on the rules of syntax; and of such obscurities I will boldly say that there are not ten in the whole book. Very rarely he mistakes a word—as 'real' for 'royal'—and very rarely a phrase. For instance, in the *Pericles* he writes: 'At the beginning there was but a little 'secret grudge only between these two factions, *as an arti-* 'ficial flower set in the blade of a sworde,' which stands for 'comme une feuille superficielle en une lame de fer.' In the *Solon* he writes: 'his familier friendes above all rebuked 'him, saying he was to be accompted *no better than a beast*,' for 'qu'il seroit bien beste.' Some of his blunders lend power to Amyot and Plutarch both: as in that fine passage of the *Publicola*, wherein the conspirators' 'great and horrible 'othe, drinking the blood of a man and *shaking hands* in 'his bowels,' stands for 'touchant des mains aux entrailles.' There is one such error of unique interest. It stands in Shakespeare that

His Accuracy

Blunders and Liberties

> 'in his mantle muffling up his face,
> Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
> *Which all the while ran blood*, great Cæsar fell';

[1] Dedication to Elizabeth.

[2] In the *Numa*.

[3] The first edition of 1559, compared by me with Amyot's second edition of 1565. I had not the third, of 1567, from which North translated; but on several points I have referred to the copy in the British Museum.

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and we read in North, 'against the base, whereupon Pompey's image stoode, *which ranne all of a goare bloude*'; but Amyot simply writes, 'qui en fust toute ensanglantée. The blunder has enriched the world: that is, if it was truly a blunder, and not a touch of genius. For North will sometimes, though very rarely of set purpose, magnify with a word, or transfigure a sentence. 'Le deluge,' for example, is always 'Noe's flood'; and in one celebrated passage he bowdlerises without shame, turning Flora's parting caress to Pompey into a 'sweete quippe or pleasant taunte.'[1] Such are the discrepancies which can by any stretch be called blunders; and the sum of them is insignificant in a work which echoes its original not only in sense but also in rhythm and form.

His Use of Earlier Versions

North had the Greek text, or perhaps a Latin translation, before him. In the *Sertorius* he speaks of 'Gaule Narbonensis,' with nothing but 'Languedoc' in Amyot; in the *Pompey* he gives the Greek, unquoted by Amyot, for 'let the dye be cast'; in dealing with Demosthenes' quinsy, he attempts an awkward pun, which Amyot had disdained; and in the *Cicero* he gives in Greek character the original for Latin terms of philosophy, whereas Amyot does not. These are the only indications I have found of his having looked beyond the French.

His Use of Amyot

But on Amyot he set a grip which had its bearing on the development of Tudor prose. It may even be that, in tracing this development, we have looked too exclusively to Italian, Spanish, and classical sources. Sidney read North's book; Shakespeare rifled it; and seven editions[2] were published, within the hundred years which saw the new birth of English prose and its glorious fulfilment. In acknowledging our debt, have we not unduly neglected the Bishop of Auxerre? Sentence for sentence and rhythm for rhythm, in all the great passages North's style is essentially Amyot's.[3] There are differences, of course, which catch the eye, and

[1] Greek ἀδήκτως: Lat., *Ed. Princeps* (1470), 'sine morsu.' Long has another reading and translation, but most will agree that Amyot's is not a blunder but an emendation.

[2] 1579; 1595; 1603; 1612; 1631; 1657; 1676.

[3] Cf. for instance, in the *Antonius*, Cleopatra on the Cydnus; the death of Antonius; and the death of Cleopatra.

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have, therefore, as I think, attracted undue attention, the more naturally since they are all in North's favour. His vigorous diction puts stuff into the text: he stitches it with sturdy locutions, he tags it with Elizabethan braveries. But the woof and the design are still Amyot's; and the two versions may be studied most conveniently abreast.

Differences and Resemblances

In neither writer is the verse of any account. Indeed, when North comes to an incident of the Gymnopœdia—'the 'which Sophocles doth easily declare by these verses:

'The song which you shall sing shall be the sonnet sayde
'By Hermony lusty lasse, that strong and sturdy mayde;
'Which trust her peticote about her middle short
'And set to show her naked hippes in frank and friendly sort'—

you feel that the reference to Sophocles is not only remote but also grotesque. It is very different with their prose. And first, is North's version—the translation of a translation—by much removed from Plutarch? In a sense, yes. It is even truer of North than of Amyot, that he offers Plutarch neither to philosophers nor to grammarians, but to all who would understand life and human nature.[1] But for these, and for all lovers of language, Plutarch loses little in Amyot, saving in the matter of literary allusion; and Amyot loses nothing in North, save for the presence of a score of whims and obscurities. On the other hand, we recapture in North an English equivalent for those 'gasconisms' which Montaigne retained in French, but which Amyot rejected from it. The Plutarchian hues are never lost—they are but doubly refracted; and by each refraction they are broadened in surface and deepened in tone. The sunlight of his sense is sometimes subdued by a light mist, or is caught in the fantastic outline of a little cloud. But the general effect is touched with a deeper solemnity and a more splendid iridescence; even where the vapours lie thickest, the red rays throb through.

North and his Successors

But the proof of the pudding is the eating. Let us take a passage at random, and compare the sixteenth century renderings with the cold perversions of a later age. For

[1] Gustave Lanson, *La littérature française* (1894), p. 223.

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example, Amyot writes[1] that Pythagoras 'apprivoisa une 'aigle, qu'il feit descendre et venir a luy par certaines voix, 'ainsi comme elle volait en l'air dessus sa teste'; in North this eagle is 'so tame and gentle, that she would stoupe, and 'come down to him by certaine voyces, as she flewe in the 'ayer over his head'; while in an accurate modern, Pythagoras merely 'tamed an eagle and made it alight on him.' The earlier creature flies like a bird of Jove, but the later comes down like a brick. The Langhornes' eagle is still more precipitate, their Pythagoras still more peremptory. 'That philosopher,' as they naturally call the Greek, 'had 'so far tamed an eagle that by pronouncing certain words 'he could stop it in its flight, or bring it down.' Perhaps I may finish at once with the Langhornes by referring to their description of Cleopatra on the Cydnus. They open that pageant, made glorious for ever by Amyot, North, and Shakespeare, in these terms: 'Though she had received 'many pressing letters of invitation from Antony and his 'friends, . . . she by no means took the most expeditious 'mode of travelling.' Thus the Langhornes; and they denounce the translation called Dryden's[2] for 'tame and 'tedious, without elegance, spirit, or precision'! Now, it was a colossal impertinence to put out the *Lives* among the Greeklings of Grub Street, in order to 'complete the 'whole in a year'; but it must be noted that, after North's, this[3] is still the only version that can be read without impatience. Dryden's hacks were not artists, but neither were they prigs: the vocabulary was not yet a charnel of decayed metaphor; and if they missed the rapture of sixteenth century rhythm, they had not bleached the colour, carded the texture, and ironed the surface of their language to the well-glazed insignificance of the later eighteenth century. Their Plutarch is no longer wrapped in the royal robes of Amyot and North; but he is spared the cheap

The Langhornes

Dryden

[1] *Numa Pompilius.*

[2] Corrected and revised by A. H. Clough, 1883.

[3] Dryden, in his dedication to the Duke of Ormonde (1683), spoke of North as ungrammatical and ungraceful. The version he signed was 'exe-'cuted by several hands'; but with his name on the title-page it displaced North's, which is now for the first time since republished.

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though formal tailoring of Dacier and the Langhornes. In our own time there have been translations by scholars: they are useful as cribs, but they do not pretend to charm. Here, for instance, is North's funeral of Philopœmen: 'The soul-'diers were all crowned with garlandes of Laurell in token 'of victory, not withstanding the teares ranne downe their 'cheekes in token of sorrowe, and they led their enemies 'prisoners shackled and chained. The funeral pot in which 'were Philipœmenes ashes, was so covered with garlands of 'flowers, nosegaies, and laces that it could scant be seene or 'discerned.' And here is the crib: 'There one might see 'men crowned with garlands but weeping at the same time, 'and leading along his enemies in chains. The urn itself, 'which was scarcely to be seen for the garlands and ribbons 'with which it was covered,' etc. Here, too, is North's Demetrius: 'He took pleasure of Lamia, as a man would 'have delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing 'else to doe, or is desirous to sleep: but indeede when he 'was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then 'ivey at his dart's end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor 'came not out of ladies closets, pricked and princt to go to 'battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and 'became as the poet Euripides saith,

A Latter-day Crib

'The souldier of Mars, cruell and bloodie.'

And here is the crib: 'He only dedicated the superfluity of his 'leisure to enjoyment, and used his Lamia, like the mythical 'nightmare, only when he was half asleep or at play. When 'he was preparing for war, no ivy wreathed his spear, no 'perfume scented his helmet, nor did he go from his bed-'chamber to battle covered with finery.' '*Dedicated the 'superfluity of his leisure!*' At such a jewel the Langhornes must have turned in envy in their graves! But, apart from style, modern scholars have a fetish which they worship to the ruin of any literary claim. Amyot and North have been ridiculed for writing, in accordance with their method, of *nuns* and *churches*, and not of *vestals* and *temples*. Yet the opposite extreme is far more fatiguing. Where is the sense

A Latter-day Fetish

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of putting 'chalkaspides' in the text and 'soldiers who had 'shields of brass' in the notes? Is it not really less distracting to read, as in North, of soldiers 'marching with 'their copper targets'? So, too, with the Parthian kettle-drums. It is an injury to write 'hollow instruments' in so splendid a passage; and an insult to add in a note 'the con-'text seems to show that a drum is meant.' Of course! And 'kettle-drums' is a perfect equivalent for ῥόπτρα, 'made 'of skin, and hollow, which they stretch round brass sounders.' But if these things are done in England, you may know what to expect of Germany. In the picture of Cato's suicide there is one supreme touch, rendered by Plutarch ἤδη δ' ὄρνιθες ᾖδον; by Amyot *les petits oyseaux commençoient desja à chanter*; by North, *the little birds began to chirpe*. But Kaltwasser turns the little birds into crowing cocks; and maintains his position by a learned argument. It was still, says he, in the night, and other fowls are silent until dawn.[1] If the style of the eighteenth century be tedious, the scholarship of the nineteenth is intolerable. The truth is that in the sixteenth alone could the *Lives* be fitly translated. For there were passages, as of the arming of Greece, in the *Philopœmen*, which could only be rendered in an age still accustomed to armour. Any modern rendering, be it by writer or by don, must needs be archaistically mediæval or pedantically antique.

The German Unchained

French and English: the Question of Form

Turning, then, to Amyot and North, the strangest thing to note, and the most important, is that the English, although without a touch of foreign idiom, is modelled closely upon the French. Some explanation of this similarity in form may be found in the nature of the matter. The narration, as opposed to the analysis, of action; the propounding, as opposed to the proof, of philosophy—these are readily conveyed from one language into another, and *Joshua* and *Ecclesiastes* are good reading in most versions of the Bible. But North is closer to Amyot than any two versions of the Bible are to each other. The French runs into the English five times out of six, and in all the great passages, not only word for word but almost cadence for cadence. There is a trick of redun-

[1] See *Plutarch's Lives*: Stewart and Long, III. 572.

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dancy in Tudor prose that makes for emphasis and melody. We account it English, and find it abounding in our Bible. It is wholly alien from modern French prose—wholly alien, too, from French prose of the seventeenth century. Indeed, I would go further, and say that it is largely characteristic of Amyot the writer, and not of the age in which he wrote. You do not find it, for instance, in the prose of Joachim du Bellay.[1] But now take North's account of the execution before Brutus of his two eldest sons;[2] 'which,' you read, 'was such a pitieful sight to all people, that they could not 'find it in their hearts to *beholde* it, but turned themselves 'another waye, bicause they would not *see* it.' That effective repetition is word for word in the French: 'qu'ilz 'n'avoient pas le cueur de les *regarder*, ains se tournoient 'd'un austre costé pour n'en rien *veoir*.' But, apart from redundancy, the closeness is at all times remarkable. Consider the phrase: 'but to go on quietly and joyfully at the sound 'of these pipes to hazard themselves even to death.'[3] You would swear it original, but here is the French: 'ains aller 'posement et joyeusement au son des instruments, se hazarder 'au peril de la mort.' The same effect is produced by the same rhythm. Or, take the burial of unchaste vestals:[4] when the muffled litter passes, the people 'follow it mourn-'ingly with heavy looks and speake never a word'; 'avec une 'chère basse, et morne sans mot dire'; and so on, in identical rhythm, to the end of that magnificent passage. I will give one longer example, from the return of Alcibiades. You read in North: 'Those that could come near him dyd welcome 'and imbrace him: but all the people wholly followed him: 'And some that came to him put garlands of flowers upon his 'head: and those that could not come neare him, sawe him 'afarre off, and the olde folkes dyd poynte him out to the 'younger sorte.' And in Amyot: 'Ceulx qui en pouvoient 'approcher le saluoient et l'embrassoient, mais tous l' accom-'pagnoient; et y en avoient aucuns qui s'approchans de luy, 'luy mettoient des chappeaux de fleurs sur la teste et ceulx 'qui n'en pouvoient approcher, le regardoient de loing, et les

INTRO-DUCTION

Amyot's Manner and North's

Points of Contrast

[1] *Deffense et illustration de la Langue françoise.*
[2] *Publicola.* [3] *Lycurgus.* [4] *Numa.*

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'vieux le monstroient aux jeunes.' Here is the very manner of the Authorised Version: flowing but not prolix, full but not turgid. Is it, then, fanciful to suggest that Amyot's style, evolved from the inherent difficulty of his task, was accepted by North for its beauty, and used by the translators of the Bible for its fitness to an undertaking hard for similar reasons and in a similar way? Amyot piles up his epithets, and links one varied cadence to another: yet his volume is not of extravagant utterance, but of extreme research. He was endeavouring to render late Greek into French of the Renaissance; and so he sought for perfect expression not—as to-day—in one word but in the resultant of many. And this very volume of utterance, however legitimate, imposed the necessity of rhythm. His innumerable words, if they were not to weary, must be strung on a wire of undulating gold. North copied this cadence, and gave a storehouse of expression to the writers of his time. It seems to me, therefore, not rash to trace, through North, to Amyot one rivulet of the many that fell into the mighty stream of rhythm flowing through the classic version of the English Bible.

Amyot's Influence on Elizabethan English

Antithesis

But North and Amyot are not men of one trick: they can be terse and antithetical when they will. You read that Themistocles advanced the honour of the Athenians, making them 'to overcome their enemies by force, and their 'friends and allies with liberality'; in Amyot: 'Vaincre 'leurs ennemies en prouesse, et leurs alliez et amis en 'bonté'! North can play this tune as well as any: *e.g.*, 'If they,' Plutarch's heroes, 'have done this for heathen 'Kings, what should we doe for Christian Princes? If they 'have done this for glorye, what shoulde we doe for religion? 'If they have done this without hope of heaven, what should 'we doe that looke for immortalitie?'[1] But he can play other tunes too. Much is now written of the development of the sentence; and no doubt since the decadence advances have been made. Yet, in the main, they are to recover a territory wilfully abandoned. In North and Amyot there are sentences of infinite device—sentences numerous and har-

Majesty and Music

[1] Dedication to Elizabeth.

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monic beyond the dreams of Addison and Swift. I will give some examples. Amyot: 'S'éblouissant à regarder une 'telle splendeur, et se perdant à sonder un tel abysme.' That is fine enough, but North beats it: 'Dazeled at the 'beholding of such brightnesse, and confounded at the gaging 'of so bottomlesse a deepe.'[1] Amyot: 'Ne plus ne moins 'que si c'eust esté quelque doulce haleine d'un vent salubre 'et gracieu qui leur eust soufflé du costé de Rome pour 'les rafreshir.' And North: 'As if some gentle ayer had 'breathed on them by some gracious and healthfull wind, 'blowen from Rome to refresh them.'[2] No translation could be closer; yet in the first example North's English is stronger than the French, and in the second it flows, like the air, with a more ineffable ease. Take, again, the account of the miracle witnessed during the battle of Salamis. Here is Amyot: '*que l'on ouit une haulte voix* et grande clameur '*par toute la plaine Thrasiene jusques à la mer, comme s'il y* '*eust eu* grand *nombre d'hommes qui ensemble eussent à haulte* '*voix chanté le sacre cantique de Iacchus, et sembloit que* de 'la multitude *de ceulx qui chantoient il se levast petit à petit* '*une nuée en l'air*, laquelle *partant de la terre venoit a* '*fondre et tumber sur les galeres en la mer.*' And here is North: 'that a lowde voyce was heard through all the 'plaine of Thriasia unto the sea, as if there had bene a 'number of men together, that had songe out alowde, the 'holy songe of Iacchus. And it seemed by litle and litle 'that there rose a clowde in the ayer from those which 'sange: that left the land, and came and lighted on the 'gallyes in the sea.' I have put into italics so much of Amyot as North renders word for word. His fidelity is beyond praise; but the combination of such fidelity with perfect and musical expression is no less than a miracle of artistry. North, in this passage as elsewhere, not only writes more beautiful English: he gives, also, a description of greater completeness and clarity than you will find in any later version of Plutarch. The elemental drama transfigures his prose; but every fact is realised, every sensuous impression is set down, and set down in its order.

North's Superiority to Amyot

[1] Amyot: *Aux Lecteurs.* [2] *Numa.*

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So much may be said, too, of Amyot; but in his rendering you are aware of the words and the construction—in fact, of the author. In North's there is but the pageant of the sky; there is never a restless sound to disturb the illusion; the cadence is sublimated of all save a delicate alliteration, tracing its airy rhythm to the ear. The work is full of such effects, some of simple melody, and others of more than contrapuntal involution; for he commands his English as a skilled organist his organ, knowing the multitude of its resources, and drawing at need upon them all. Listen to his rendering of Pericles' sorrow for his son: 'Neither saw they 'him weepe at any time nor mourne at the funeralles of any 'of his kinsmen or friendes, but at the death of Paralus, his 'younger and lawful begotten sonne: for, the losse of him 'alone dyd only melt his harte. Yet he dyd strive to 'showe his naturall constancie, and to keepe his accustomed 'modestie. But as he woulde have put a garland of flowers 'upon his head, sorrowe dyd so pierce his harte when he 'sawe his face, that then he burst out in teares and cryed 'amaine; which they never saw him doe before all the 'dayes of his life.' Yes, the pathos of the earth is within his compass; but he can also attain to the sublimity of heaven: 'The everlasting seate, which trembleth not, and 'is not driven nor moved with windes, neither is darkened 'with clowdes, but is allwayes bright and cleare, and at all 'times shyning with a pure bright light, as being the only 'habitation and mansion place of the eternall God, only 'happy and immortall.'[1]

His Mastery of English

These two passages from the last movement of the *Pericles* can only be spoken of in North's own language: they are 'as stoppes and soundes of the soul played upon with the 'fine fingered hand of a conning master.'[2] Yet they are modelled on Amyot's French. It seems scarce credible; and indeed, if the mould be the same, the metal has been transmuted. You feel that much has been added to the form so faithfully followed; that you are listening to an English master of essentially English prose. For these

His Debt to Amyot

[1] Amyot: 'Comme estant telle habitation et convenable à la nature 'souverainement heureuse et immortelle.'

[2] *Pericles.*

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passages are in the tradition of our tongue: the first gives an echo of Malory's stately pathos, and the second an earnest of our *Apocalypse*. In building up these palaces of music North has followed the lines of Amyot's construction; but his melody in the first is sweeter, his harmony in the second peals out with a loftier rapture.

I have dwelt upon the close relation of North's style to Amyot's, because it is the rule, and because it has a bearing on the development of Tudor prose. This rule of likeness seems to me worthier of note than any exceptions; both for the strangeness and the importance. But, of course, there are exceptions: there are traits, of attitude and of expression, personal to North the man and the writer. He has a national leaning towards the sturdy and the bluff. In a sonnet written some twenty years earlier, Du Bellay, giving every nation a particular epithet, labels our forefathers for 'les Anglais mutins.' The epithet is chosen by an enemy; but there was ever in the English temper, above all, in the roaring days of great Elizabeth, a certain jovial frowardness, by far removed both from impertinence and from bluster, which inclined us, as we should put it, to stand no nonsense from anybody. This national characteristic is strongly marked in North. For him Spartacus and his slaves are 'rebellious rascals.' When Themistocles boasts of being able to make a small city great, though he cannot, indeed, tune a viol or play of the psalterion, Amyot calls his words 'un peu haultaines et odieuses': they are repugnant to the cultured prelate, and he gives a full equivalent for the censure of Plutarch, the cultured Greek.[1] But North will not away with this censure of a bluff retort: having his bias, he deliberately betrays his original, making Themistocles answer 'with *great and stout* words.' There is also in North's character a strain of kindness, almost of softness, towards women and children and the pathetic side of life. In the wonderful passage describing the living burial of unchaste vestals,[2] where almost every other word is liter-

Exceptions to North's Rule

His Sturdiness

His Sense of Pathos

[1] The Greek epithet is rendered by the word *arrogant* in Clough's revised Dryden, and by the word *vulgar* in Mr. Stewart's translation.

[2] *Numa.*

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ally translated, North turns 'la criminelle' into 'the seely 'offendour': as it were with a gracious reminiscence of Chaucer's 'ne me ne list this seely woman chide.' And in the *Solon*, where a quaint injunction is given for preserving love in wedlock, Amyot writes that so courteous a custom, being observed by a husband towards his wife, 'garde que 'les courages et vouluntez ne s'alienent de tout poinct les 'uns des autres.' (The phrase is rendered in a modern version 'preventing their leading to actual quarrel.') But North lifts the matter above the level of laughter or puritanical reproach: it 'keepeth,' as he writes, 'love and 'good will waking, that it die not utterly between them.' The beauty and gentleness of these words, in so strange a context, are, you feel, inspired by chivalry and a deep reverence for women. These two strains in North's character find vent in his expression; but they never lead him far from the French. There is an insistence, but no more, on all things gentle and brave; and this insistence goes but to further a tendency already in Amyot. For in that age the language of gentlemen received a like impress in both countries from their common standards of courage and courtesy; and among gentlemen, Amyot and North seem to have been drawn yet closer to each other by a common kinship with the brave and gentle soul of Plutarch. These two qualities which are notable in Plutarch and Amyot in all such passages, lead in North to a distinct exaggeration of phrase, though ever in the direction of their true intent. He makes grim things grimmer, and sweet things more sweet. So that the double translation from the Greek gives the effect of a series of contours traced the one above the other, and ever increasing the curve of the lowest outline.

Amyot, North, and Plutarch

His Vigour of Phrase

But North, being no sentimentalist, finds occasion for fifty stout words against one soft saying. The stark vigour of his diction is, indeed, its most particular sign. The profit to the Greeks of a preliminary fight before Salamis is thus declared by Amyot: it proved 'que la grande multitude des 'vaisseaux, ny la pompe et magnificence des parements 'd'iceulx, ny les cris superbes et chants de victoire des Bar-

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'bares, ne servent de rien à l'encontre de ceulx qui ont le 'cueur de joindre de près, et combattre à coups de main leur 'ennemy, et *qu'il ne fault point faire compte de tout cela, ains 'aller droit affronter les hommes et s'attacher hardiment à 'eulx*.' North follows closely for a time, but in the last sentence he lets out his language to the needs of a maxim so pertinent to a countryman of Drake. The Greeks saw, says he, 'that it was not the great multitude of shippes, nor the 'pomp and sumptuous setting out of the same, nor the 'prowde barbarous showts and songes of victory that could 'stand them to purpose, against noble hartes and valliant 'minded souldiers, that durst *grapple with them, and come 'to hand strokes with their enemies: and that they should 'make no reckoning of all that bravery and bragges, but 'should sticke to it like men, and laye it on the jacks of them*.' The knight who was to captain his three hundred men in the Armada year, has the pull here over the bishop; and on occasion he has always such language at command. 'Les 'autres qui estoient demourez à Rome' instead of marching to the war[1] are 'the home-tarriers and house-doves': upbraided elsewhere[2] because they 'never went from the smoke 'of the chimney nor carried away any blowes in the field.' When Philopœmen, wounded with a dart that 'pierced both 'thighes through and through, that the iron was seene on 'either side,' saw 'the fight terrible,' and that it 'woulde 'soon be ended,' you read in Amyot 'qu'il perdoit patience 'de despit,' but in North that 'it spited him to the guttes, 'he would so faine have bene among them.' The phrase is born of sympathy and conviction. North, too, has a fine impatience of fools. Hannibal, discovering the error of his guides, 'les feit pendre' in Amyot; in North he 'roundely 'trussed them up and honge them by the neckes.'[3] And he is not sparing in his censure of ill-livers. Phœa, you read in the *Theseus*, 'was surnamed a sowe for her beastly brutishe 'behaviour, and wicked life.' He can be choleric as well as kindly, and never minces his words.

and Lustiness of Sentiment

Apart from those expressions which spring from the idiosyncrasy of his temperament, North's style shares to the

[1] *Coriolanus.* [2] *Fabius Maximus.* [3] *Ibid.*

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full in the general glory of Elizabethan prose. You read of 'fretised seelings,'[1] of words that 'dulce and soften the 'hardened harts of the multitude';[2] of the Athenians 'being set on a jolitie to see themselves strong.' Heads are 'passhed in peces,' and men 'ashamed to cast their 'honour at their heeles' (Amyot: 'd'abandonner leur gloire'). Themistocles' father shows him the 'shipwracks and ribbes '(Amyot: 'les corps') of olde gallyes cast here and there.' You have, 'pluck out of his head the worm of ambition'[3] for 'oster de sa fantasie l'ambition'; and Cæsar on the night before his death hears Calpurnia, 'being fast asleep, 'weepe and sigh, and *put forth many fumbling lamentable* 'speeches.' But in particular, North is richer than even his immediate followers in homespun images and proverbial locutions. Men who succeed, 'bear the bell';[4] 'tenter la 'fortune le premier' is 'to breake the ise of this enter-'prise.'[5] Coriolanus by his pride 'stirred coales emong the 'people.' The Spartans who thwarted Themistocles 'dyd 'sit on his skirtes'; and the Athenians fear Pericles because in voice and manner 'he was Pisistratus up and downe.' The Veians let fall their 'peacockes bravery';[6] and a man when pleased is 'as merry as a pye.'[7] Raw recruits are 'fresh-'water souldiers.' A turncoat carries 'two faces in one 'hoode';[8] and the Carthaginians, being outwitted, are 'ready to eate their fingers for spyte.' The last locution occurs also in North's *Morall Philosophie* of 1570: he habitually used such expressions, and yet others which are truly proverbs, common to many languages. For instance, he writes in the *Camillus*, 'these words made Brennus mad as 'a March Hare that out went his blade'; in *Cato Utican* 'to set all at six and seven'; in *Solon* 'so sweete it is 'to rule the roste'; in *Pelopidas* 'to hold their noses to 'the gryndstone'; in *Cicero*, with even greater incongruity, of his wife Terentia 'wearing her husbandes breeches.' In the *Alcibiades*, the Athenians 'upon his persuasion, 'built castles in the ayer'; and this last has been referred to

His Vocabulary

Proverbs and Images

[1] *Lycurgus.* [2] *Publicola.* [3] *Solon.*
[4] The old prize for a racehorse.
[5] *Camillus.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Publicola.* [8] *Timoleon.*

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Sidney's *Apologie*; but the first known edition of the *Apologie* is dated 1595, and it is supposed to have been written about 1581; North has it not only in the *Lives* (1579), but in his *Morall Philosophie* of 1570.[1] To North, too, we may perhaps attribute some of the popularity in England of engaging jingles. 'Pritle pratle' and 'topsie 'turvie' occur both in the *Lives* and the *Morall Philosophie*. And in the *Lives* you have also 'spicke and spanne newe';[2] with 'hurly burly' and 'pel mel,' adopted by Shakespeare in *Macbeth* and *Richard III*. Since North takes the last from Amyot and explains it—'fled into the camp pel mel or hand 'over heade'—and since it is of French derivation—*pelle-mesle* = 'to mix with a shovel'—it is possible that the phrase is here used for the first time.

His Jingles

Gathered together, these peculiarities of style seem many; and yet in truth they are few. They are the merest accidents in a great stream of rhythm. That stream flows steadily and superbly through a channel of another man's digging. For North's style is Amyot's, divided into shorter periods, strengthened with racy locutions, and decked with Elizabethan tags. In English such division was necessary: the rhythm, else, of the weightier language had gained such momentum as to escape control. But even so North's English is neither cramped nor pruned: it is still unfettered by antithesis and prodigal of display. His periods, though shorter than Amyot's, in themselves are leisurely and long. There is room in them for fine words and lofty phrases; and these go bragging by, the one following a space after the other, like cars in an endless pageant. The movement of his procession rolls on: yet he halts it at pleasure, to soften sorrow with a gracious saying, or to set a flourish on the bravery of his theme.

His Style and its Accidents

IV

The earliest tribute to the language of Amyot and North was the highest that has ever, or can ever, be paid; both for

[1] *Fables of Bidpai*, 1888, p. 11.

[2] *Paulus Æmilius*; in a gorgeous description of the Macedonian phalanx; from spick = a spike, and span = a splinter.

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its own character and the authority of those who gave it. For Montaigne, the greatest literary genius in France during the sixteenth century, wrote thus of Aymot: 'Nous 'estions perdus, si ce livre ne nous eust tires du bourbier: 'sa mercy, nous osons a cette heure parler et escrire';[1] and Shakespeare, the first poet of all time, borrowed three plays almost wholly from North. I do not speak of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, for each of which a little has been gleaned from North's *Theseus*; nor of the *Timon of Athens*, although here the debt is larger.[2] The wit of Apemantus, the Apologue of the Fig-tree, and the two variants of Timon's epitaph, are all in North. Indeed, it was the 'rich conceit' of Timon's tomb by the sea-shore which touched Shakespeare's imagination, as it had touched Antony's; so that some of the restricted passion of North's *Antonius*, which bursts into showers of meteoric splendour in the Fourth and Fifth Acts of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, beats too, in the last lines of his *Timon*, with a rhythm as of billows:

North's Debtor-in-Chief

'yet rich conceit
Taught thee to make vast Neptune weep for aye
On thy low grave, on faults forgiven.'

The Roman Plays

But in *Antony and Cleopatra*, as in *Coriolanus* and in *Julius Cæsar*, Shakespeare's obligation is apparent in almost all he has written. To measure it you must quote the bulk of the three plays. 'Of the incident,' Trench has said, 'there is 'almost nothing which he does not owe to Plutarch, even 'as continually he owes the very wording to Sir Thomas 'North';[3] and he follows up this judgment with so detailed an analysis of the *Julius Cæsar* that I shall not attempt to labour the same ground. As regards the *Coriolanus*, it was noted, even by Pope, 'that the whole history is exactly 'followed, and many of the principal speeches exactly copied, 'from the life of Coriolanus in Plutarch.' This exactitude, apart from its intrinsic interest, may sometimes assist in

Coriolanus

[1] *Essais*, II. iv.
[2] It is founded on one passage in the *Alcibiades* and another in the *Antony*.
[3] *Plutarch. Five Lectures*, p. 66.

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restoring a defective passage. One such piece there is in II. iii. 231 of the Cambridge *Shakespeare*, 1865:

> 'The noble *house o' the Marcians*, from whence came
> That *Ancus Marcius, Numa's daughter's son*,
> *Who, after* great *Hostilius*, here *was king*;
> *Of the same house Publius and Quintus were*,
> That our *best water brought by conduits* hither.'

The Folios here read:

> 'And Nobly nam'd, so *twice* being *Censor*,
> Was his great Ancestor.'

A Lost Line

It is evident that, after 'hither,' a line has been lost, and Rowe, Pope, Delius, and others have tried their best to recapture it. Pope, knowing of Shakespeare's debt and founding his emendation on North, could suggest nothing better than 'And Censorinus, darling of the people'; while Delius, still more strangely, stumbled, as I must think, on the right reading, but for the inadequate reason that 'darling of the people' does not sound like Shakespeare. I have given in italics the words taken from North: and, applying the same method to the line suggested by Delius, you read: 'And *Censorinus that was so surnamed*,' then, in the next line, by merely shifting a comma, you read on: 'And nobly named so, *twice* being *Censor*.' Had Delius pointed out that he got his line simply by following Shakespeare's practice of taking so many of North's words, in their order, as would fall into blank verse, his emendation must surely have been accepted, since it involves no change in the subsequent lines of the Folios; whereas the Cambridge *Shakespeare* breaks one line into two, and achieves but an awkward result:

> 'And [Censorinus] nobly named so,
> Twice being [by the people chosen] censor.'

The Sum of Shakespeare's Debt

The closeness of Shakespeare's rendering, indicated by this use of italics, is not particular to this passage, but is universal throughout the play. Sometimes he gives a conscious turn to North's unconscious humour: as when, in the Parable of the Belly and the Members, North writes, 'And so the bellie,

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'all this notwithstanding laughed at their follie'; and Shakespeare writes in I. i., 'For, look you, I may make the belly 'smile As well as speak.' At others his fidelity leads him into an anachronism. North writes of Coriolanus that 'he 'was even such another, *as Cato would have a souldier* and a 'captaine to be: not only terrible and fierce to laye aboute 'him, but to make the enemie afeard with the sound of his 'voyce and grimness of his countenance.' And Shakespeare, with a frank disregard for chronology, gives the speech, Cato and all, to Titus Lartius (I. iv. 57):

An Anachronism

> 'Thou wast a soldier
> *Even to Cato's wish,* not fierce and terrible
> Only in strokes; but with thy grim looks and
> The thunder-like percussion of thy sounds,
> Thou mad'st thine enemies shake.'

But perhaps the most curious evidence of the degree to which Shakespeare steeped himself in North is to be found in passages where he borrowed North's diction and applied it to new purposes. For instance, in North 'a goodly horse 'with a capparison' is offered to Coriolanus; in Shakespeare, at the same juncture, Lartius says of him:

A Borrowed Palette

> 'O General,
> Here is the steed, we the caparison.'

Shakespeare, that is, not only copies North's picture, he also uses North's palette. Throughout the play he takes the incidents, the images, and the very words of North. You read in North: 'More over he sayed they nourished against 'themselves, the naughty seede and cockle of insolencie and 'sedition, which had been sowed and scattered abroade 'amongst the people.' And in Shakespeare, III. i. 69:

> 'In soothing them we *nourish 'gainst* our senate
> *The cockle* of rebellion, *insolence, sedition,*
> *Which* we ourselves have plough'd for, *sow'd and scatter'd.*'

Of course it is not argued that Shakespeare has not contributed much of incalculable worth: the point is that he found a vast deal which he needed not to change. When Shakespeare adds, IV. vii. 33:

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'I think he 'll be to Rome
As is the osprey to the fish, who takes it
By sovereignty of nature,'

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he is turning prose into poetry. When he creates the character of Menenius Agrippa from North's allusion to 'certaine of the plesauntest olde men,' he is turning narrative into drama, as he is, too, in his development of Volumnia, from a couple of references and one immortal speech. But these additions and developments can in no way minimise the fact that he takes from North that speech, and the two others which are the pivots of the play, as they stand. There is the one in which Coriolanus discovers himself to Aufidius. I take it from the Cambridge *Shakespeare*, and print the actual borrowings in italics (IV. v. 53):

Transfiguration

'Cor. (Unmuffling) *If, Tullus,*
Not yet thou knowest me, and, seeing me, dost not
Think *me* for *the man I am, necessity*
Commands me to name *myself.* . . .
My name is *Caius Marcius, who hath done*
To thee *particularly, and to all the Volsces,*
Great hurt and mischief; thereto witness may
My surname, Coriolanus: the painful service,
The extreme dangers, and the drops of blood
Shed for my thankless country, are requited
But with that *surname; a good memory,*
And witness of the malice and displeasure
Which *thou shouldst bear me: only* that *name remains;*
The cruelty and envy of the people,
Permitted *by* our *dastard nobles, who*
Have all *forsook me,* hath devour'd *the rest;*
And suffer'd *me by the* voice of slaves to be
Whoop'd out of Rome. *Now, this extremity*
Hath brought me *to thy hearth: not* out *of hope—*
Mistake me not—*to save my life, for if*
I had fear'd death, of all men i' the world
I would have voided thee; *but* in mere *spite*
To be full quit *of* those my *banishers,*
Stand I before thee here. Then *if thou hast*
A *heart* of *wreak* in thee, that wilt revenge
Thine own particular wrongs and stop those maims
Of shame seen through thy country, *speed thee* straight,
And make *my misery serve thy turn: so use it*
That my revengeful *services may* prove
As *benefits to* thee; for *I will fight*

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> Against my canker'd country with the spleen
> Of all the under fiends. But *if so be*
> *Thou darest not* this *and that to prove more fortunes*
> *Thou 'rt* tired, *then*, in a word, *I also am*
> *Longer to live* most *weary*.'

The second, which is Volumnia's (v. iii. 94), is too long for quotation. It opens thus:

> 'Should we be silent *and not speak, our raiment*
> *And state of bodies would bewray what life*
> *We have led since thy exile. Think with thyself*
> *How more unfortunate than all living women*
> *Are we come hither*';

Parallels and Correspondences

and here, to illustrate Shakespeare's method of rhythmical condensation, is the corresponding passage in North. 'If 'we helde our peace (my sonne) *and* determined *not* to *speake*, 'the *state of* our poore *bodies*, and present sight of *our rai-* 'ment, *would* easily *bewray* to thee *what life we have led* at 'home, *since thy exile* and abode abroad. But *thinke* now 'with *thyself, howe* much *more unfortunate*ly, *then all* the 'women *livinge we are come hether*.' I have indicated by italics the words that are common to both, but even so, I can by no means show the sum of Shakespeare's debt, or so much as hint at the peculiar glory of Sir Thomas's prose. There is no mere question of borrowed language; for North and Shakespeare have each his own excellence, of prose and of verse. Shakespeare has taken over North's vocabulary, and that is much; but it is more that behind that vocabulary

The Essential in North

he should have found such an intensity of passion as would fill the sails of the highest drama. North has every one of Shakespeare's most powerful effects in his version of the speech: '*Trust unto it, thou shalt no soner marche* forward *to* 'assault *thy countrie*, but thy foote shall *treade* upon *thy* 'mothers *wombe, that brought thee* first into *this world*'; 'Doest 'thou take *it honourable for a nobleman to remember* the 'wrongs and injuries done him'; '*Thou hast* not hitherto 'shewed *thy* poore *mother any courtesy*': these belong to North, and they are the motors of Shakespeare's emotion. The two speeches, dressed, the one in perfect prose, the other in perfect verse, are both essentially the same under their

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faintly yet magically varied raiment. The dramatic tension, the main argument, the turns of pleading, even the pause and renewal of entreaty, all are in North, and are expressed by the same spoken words and the same gap of silence. In the blank verse a shorter cadence is disengaged from the ampler movement of prose; here and there, too, a line is added. 'To tear with thunder the wide cheeks o' the air,' could only have been written by an Elizabethan dramatist; even as

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> 'When she, poor hen, fond of no second brood,
> Has clucked thee to the wars, and safely home,'

could only have been written by Shakespeare. The one is extravagant, the other beautiful; but the power and the pathos are complete without them, for these reside in the substance and the texture of the mother's entreaty, which are wholly North's. It is just to add that, saving for some crucial touches, as in the substitution of 'womb' for 'corps,' they belong also to Amyot. To the mother's immortal entreaty there follows the son's immortal reply: the third great speech of Shakespeare's play. It runs in Amyot: '"O '"mère, que m'as tu fait?" et en luy serrant estroittement 'la main droitte: "Ha," dit-il, "mère, tu as vaincu une vic- '"toire heureuse pour ton païs, mais bien malheureuse et '"mortelle pour ton filz: car je m'en revois vaincu, par toi '"seule."' In North: '"Oh mother, what have you done '"to me?" And holding her hard by the right hand, "Oh '"mother," sayed he, "you have wonne a happy victorie for '"your countrie, but mortall and unhappy for your sonne; '"for I see myself vanquished by you alone."' North accepts the precious jewel from Amyot, without loss of emotion or addition of phrase: he repeats the desolate question, the *singultus* of repeated apostrophe, the closing note of unparalleled doom. Shakespeare, too, accepts them in turn from North; and one is sorry that even he should have added a word.

Shakespeare

North

Amyot

An Heirloom

What, it may be asked, led Shakespeare, amid all the power and magnificence of North's *Plutarch*, to select his *Coriolanus*, his *Julius Cæsar*, and his *Antonius*? The answer,

The Reason of Shakespeare's Choice

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I think, must be that in Volumnia, Calpurnia and Portia, and Cleopatra, he found woman in her three-fold relation to man, of mother, wife, and mistress. I have passed over Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*; but I may end by tracing in his *Antony* the golden tradition he accepted from Amyot and North. It is impossible to do this in detail, for throughout the first three acts all the colour and the incident, throughout the last two all the incident and the passion, are taken by Shakespeare from North, and by North from Amyot. Enobarbus's speech (II. ii. 194), depicting the pageant of Cleopatra's voyage up the Cydnus to meet Antony, is but North's 'The manner how he fell in love with 'her was this.' Cleopatra's *barge* with its *poop* of *gold* and *purple sails*, and its *oars* of *silver*, which '*kept stroke*, 'after the sound of the musicke *of flutes*'; *her* own *person* in her *pavilion*, *cloth of gold of tissue*, even as *Venus* is pictured; her *pretty boys* on each side of *her*, like *Cupids*, *with* their *fans*; her *gentlewomen* like the *Nereides*, *steering* the *helm* and handling the *tackle*; the 'wonderful passing 'sweete savor of *perfumes* that perfumed the *wharfe*-side'; all down to Antony 'left post *alone in the market-place* in 'his Imperiall seate,' are translated bodily from the one book to the other, with but a little added ornament of Elizabethan fancy. Shakespeare, indeed, is saturated with North's language and possessed by his passion. He is haunted by the story as North has told it, so that he even fails to eliminate matters which either are nothing to his purpose or are not susceptible of dramatic presentment: as in I. ii. of the Folios, where you find Lamprias, Plutarch's grandfather, and his authority for many details of Antony's career, making an otiose entry as Lamprius, among the characters who have something to say. Everywhere are touches whose colour must remain comparatively pale unless they glow again for us as, doubtless, they glowed for Shakespeare, with hues reflected from the passages in North that shone in his memory. For instance, when his Antony says (I. i. 53):

Colour

Shakespeare Possessed by North

> 'To-night we 'll wander through the streets and note
> The qualities of people,'

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you need to know from North that 'sometime also when he 'would goe up and downe the citie disguised like a slave in 'the night, and would peere into poore men's windowes and 'their shops, and scold and brawl with them within the 'house; Cleopatra would be also in a chamber-maides array, 'and amble up and down the streets with him'; for the fantastic rowdyism of this Imperial masquerading is all but lost in Shakespeare's hurried allusion. During his first three Acts Shakespeare merely paints the man and the woman who are to suffer and die in his two others; and for these portraits he has scraped together all his colour from the many such passages as are scattered through the earlier and longer portion of North's *Antonius*. Antony's Spartan endurance in bygone days, sketched in Cæsar's speech (I. iv. 59)—

To the Point of Snatching at Effects

> 'Thou didst drink
> The stale of horses and the gilded puddle
> Which beasts would cough at: thy palate then did deign
> The roughest berry on the rudest hedge;
> Yea, like a stag when snow the pasture sheets,
> The barks of trees thou brousedst. On the Alps
> It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh,
> Which some did die to look on'—

is thus originated by North: 'It was a wonderful example 'to the souldiers, to see Antonius that was brought up in 'all fineness and superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, 'and to eate wild fruits and rootes: and moreover, it 'is reported that even as they passed the Alpes, they did 'eate the barks of trees, and such beasts as never man tasted 'their flesh before.' For his revels in Alexandria, Shakespeare has taken 'the eight wild boars roasted whole' (II. ii. 183); for Cleopatra's disports, the diver who 'did hang a 'salt fish on his hook' (II. v. 17). In III. iii. the dialogue with the Soothsayer, with every particular of Antony's Demon overmatched by Cæsar's, and of his ill luck with Cæsar at dice, cocking, and quails; in III. x. the galley's name, *Antoniad*; and in III. vi. Cæsar's account of the coronation on a '*tribunal silver'd*,' and of Cleopatra's 'giving audience' in the habiliment of the *Goddess Isis*, are other such colour patches. And this, which is true of colour, is true also of

Colour

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Incident

Antony and Cleopatra, IV. and V.

incident in the first three Acts. The scene near Misenum in II. vi., with the light talk between Pompey and Antony, is hardly intelligible apart from North: 'Whereupon Antonius 'asked him (Sextus Pompeius), "And where shall we sup?" '"There," sayd Pompey; and showed him his admiral 'galley . . . "that," said he, "is my father's house they '"have left me." He spake it to taunt Antonius because he 'had his father's house.' On the galley in the next scene, the offer of Menas, 'Let me cut the cable,' and Pompey's reply 'Ah, this thou shouldst have done and not have spoke 'on't!' may be read almost textually in North: '"Shall I '"cut the gables of the ankers?" Pompey having paused a 'while upon it, at length answered him: "thou shouldst '"have done it and never told it me."' In III. vii. the old soldier's appeal to Antony not to fight by sea, with all his arguments; in II. xi. Antony's offer to his friends of a ship laden with gold; in III. xii. his request to Cæsar that he may live at Athens; in III. xiii. the whipping of Thyreus, with Cleopatra's announcement, when Antony is pacified, that 'Since my lord Is Antony again, I will be Cleopatra—'[1] all these incidents are compiled from the many earlier pages of North's *Antonius*. But in the Fourth Act Shakespeare changes his method: he has no more need to gather and arrange. Rather the concentrated passion, born of, and contained in, North's serried narrative, expands in his verse—nay, explodes from it—into those flashes of immortal speech which have given the Fourth Act of *Antony and Cleopatra* its place apart even in Shakespeare. Of all that may be said of North's *Plutarch*, this perhaps is of deepest significance: that every dramatic incident in Shakespeare's Fourth Act is contained in two, and in his Fifth Act, in one and a half folio pages of the *Antonius*. Let me rehearse the incidents. The Fourth Act opens with Antony's renewed challenge to Cæsar, and is somewhat marred by Shakespeare's too faithful following of an error in North's translation.

'Let the old ruffian know
I have many other ways to die'

[1] One of North's mistranslations: she kept Antony's birthday, not her own.

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is taken from North; but North has mistaken Amyot, who correctly renders Plutarch's version of the repartee, that 'he (Antony) has many other ways to die': ('*Cesar luy feit response, qu'il avoit beaucoup d'autre moiens de mourir que celuy là.*') In North, this second challenge comes after (1) the sally in which Antony drove Cæsar's horsemen back to their camp (IV. vii.); (2) the passage in which he 'sweetly kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was,' and commended to her a wounded soldier (IV. viii.); (3) the subsequent defection of that soldier, which Shakespeare, harking back to the earlier defection of Domitius, described by North before Actium, develops into Enobarbus's defection and Antony's magnanimity (IV. v.), with Enobarbus's repentance and death (IV. vi. and ix.). In North, hard after the challenge follows the supper at which Antony made his followers weep (IV. ii.) and the mysterious music portending the departure of Hercules (IV. iii.). The latter passage is so full of awe that I cannot choose but quote. 'Furthermore,' says North, 'the self same night within little 'of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and 'sorrowe, thinking what would be the issue and end of this 'warre: it is said that sodainly they heard a marvelous 'sweete harmonie of sundrie sortes of instruments of musicke, 'with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had beene 'dauncing, and had song as they use in Bacchus feastes, with 'movinges and turninges after the manner of the satyres, 'and it seemed that this daunce went through the city unto 'the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe 'that made this noise they heard went out of the city at that 'gate. Now, such as in reason sought the interpretation of 'this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius 'bare singular devotion to counterfeate and resemble him, 'that did forsake them.'[1] The incident is hardly susceptible of dramatic representation, but Shakespeare, as it were spellbound by his material, must even try his hand at a

INTRO-DUCTION

'Tis the god Hercules'

[1] Translated word for word from Amyot. Any one who cares to pursue this tradition of beauty still further towards its sources will find that in the *Antonius* Amyot was in turn the debtor of Leonardus Aretinus, who did the life into Latin for the *editio princeps* (1470) of Campani.

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miracle. Follows, in North, the treachery of Cleopatra's troops; Antony's accusation of Cleopatra (IV. x. xi. and xii.); Cleopatra's flight to the monument and the false message of her death (IV. xiii.); Antony's dialogue with Eros, the suicide of Eros, and the attempt of Antony (IV. xiv.); and the death of Antony (IV. xv.). Every incident in Shakespeare's Act is contained in these two pages of North; and not only the incidents but the very passion of the speeches. 'O 'Cleopatra,' says Antonius, 'it grieveth me not that I have 'lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee; but I 'am sorry, that having bene so great a captaine and em- 'perour, I am in deede condemned to be judged of less 'corage and noble minde then a woman.' Or take, again,

Plutarch's Realism

the merciless realism of Cleopatra's straining to draw Antony up into the monument:—'Notwithstanding Cleopatra would 'not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and 'cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which Antony was 'trussed: and Cleopatra her oune selfe, with two women only, 'which she had suffered to come with her into these monu- 'ments, trised Antonius up. They that were present to 'behold it, said they never saw so pitiefull a sight. For 'they plucked poore Antonius all bloody as he was, and 'drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands 'to Cleopatra, raised up him selfe as well as he could. It 'was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: 'but Cleopatra stooping downe with her head, putting to 'all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up 'with much adoe, and never let goe her hold, with the helpe 'of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and 'were as sorie to see her labour so, as she her selfe. So 'when she had gotten him in after that sorte, and layed 'him on a bed: she rent her garments upon him, clapping 'her breast, and scratching her face and stomake. *Then she 'dried up his blood that berayed his face, and called him her 'Lord, her husband, and Emperor, forgetting her miserie and 'calamitie, for the pitie and compassion she took of him.*' In

A Tradition of Passion

all this splendour North is Amyot, and Amyot is Plutarch, while Plutarch is but the reporter of events within the recollection of men he had seen living; so that Shakespeare's

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Fourth Act is based on old-world realism made dynamic by North's incomparable prose. Then come Antony's call for wine and his last speech, which Shakespeare has taken with scarce a change: 'And for himself, that she should not lament 'nor sorrowe for the miserable chaunge of his fortune at the 'end of his dayes: but rather that she should thinke him 'the more fortunate, for the former triumphe and honors he 'had received, considering that while he lived he was the 'noblest and greatest prince of the world, and that now he 'was overcome not cowardly, but valiantly, a Romane by 'another Romane.' In Shakespeare:

Its Supreme Expression

> 'Please your thoughts
> In feeding them with those my former fortunes
> Wherein I liv'd: the greatest prince o' the world,
> The noblest: and do now not basely die,
> Not cowardly put off my helmet to
> My countryman, a Roman by a Roman
> Valiantly vanquished.'

To the end of the play the poet's fidelity is as close; and North's achievement in narrative prose is only less signal than Shakespeare's in dramatic verse. Every characteristic touch, even to Cleopatra's outburst against Seleucus, is in North. Indeed, in the Fifth Act I venture to say that Shakespeare has not transcended his original. There is in North a speech of Cleopatra at the tomb of Antony, which can ill be spared; since it is only indicated in Shakespeare (v. ii. 303) by a brief apostrophe—

An Overlooked Apostrophe

> 'O, couldst thou speak,
> That I might hear thee call great Cæsar ass
> Unpolicied'—

which is often confused with the context addressed to the asp. In North you read: 'She was carried to the place where his 'tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, imbracing 'the tombe with her women, the teares running doune her 'cheekes, she began to speake in this sorte: "O my deare Lord '"Antonius, not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free '"woman: and now I offer unto thee the funerall sprinklinges '"and oblations, being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am '"forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive

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INTRODUCTION

'"body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and '"keepe, only to triumphe of thee: looke therefore hence-'"forth for no other honors, oferinges, nor sacrifices from '"me, for these are the last which Cleopatra can geve thee, '"sith nowe they carie her away. Whilest we lived together '"nothing could sever our companies: but now at our death, '"I feare me they will make us chaunge our countries. For '"as thou being a Romane, hast been buried in Ægypt: even '"so wretched creature I, an Ægyptian, shall be buried in '"Italie, which shall be all the good that I have received '"of thy contrie. If therefore the Gods where thou art now '"have any power and authoritie, sith our gods here have for-'"saken us: suffer not thy true friend and lover to be caried '"away alive, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receive '"me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with '"thee. For though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet '"none hath grieved me more, nor that I could lesse beare '"withall: then this small time, which I had been driven to '"live alone without thee."' Her prayer is granted. The countryman comes in with his figs; and then, 'Her death 'was very sodaine. For those whom Cæsar sent unto her 'ran thither in all hast possible, and found the souldiers 'standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understand-'ing of her death. But when they opened the dores, they 'found Cleopatra starke dead, layed upon a bed of gold, 'attired and araied in her royall robes, and one of her two 'women, which was called Iras, dead at her feete; and her 'other woman called Charmion halfe dead, and trembling, 'trimming the Diademe which Cleopatra ware upon her head. 'One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd unto her: "Is '"that well done, Charmion?" "Verie well," sayd she againe, '"and meet for a Princes discended from the race of so many '"noble kings." She sayd no more, but fell doune dead hard 'by the bed.'

The Last Splendour

I doubt if there are many pages which may rank with these last of North's *Antonius* in the prose of any language. They are the golden crown of his *Plutarch*, but their fellows are all a royal vesture wrapping a kingly body. For the *Parallel Lives* is a book most sovereign in its dominion over

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the minds of great men in every age. Henri IV., in a love-letter, written between battles, to his young wife, Marie de Médicis, speaks of it as no other such hero has spoken of any other volume, amid such dire surroundings and in so dear a context. But if it has armed men of action, it has urged men of letters. Macaulay claimed it for his 'forte . . . to 'give a life after the manner of Plutarch,' and he tells us that, between the writing of two pages, when for weeks a solitary at his task, he would 'ramble five or six hours over 'rocks and through copsewood with Plutarch.' Of good English prose there is much, but of the world's greatest books in great English prose there are not many. Here is one, worthy to stand with Malory's *Morte Darthur* on either side the English Bible.

GEORGE WYNDHAM.

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NOTE

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THE LIVES OF
THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES

COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER

PLUTARKE OF CHÆRONEA

TRANSLATED OUT OF GREEKE INTO FRENCH BY

JAMES AMYOT

ABBOT OF BELLOZANE, BISHOP OF AUXERRE, ONE OF THE KINGS PRIVY COUNSEL, AND GREAT AMNER OF FRAUNCE

AND OUT OF FRENCH INTO ENGLISHE BY

THOMAS NORTH

1579

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TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESSE ELIZABETH

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, FRAUNCE AND IRELAND QUEENE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH: ETC.

NDER hope of your highnes gratious and accustomed favor, I have presumed to present here unto your Majestie, Plutarkes lyves translated, as a booke fit to be protected by your highnes, and meete to be set forth in Englishe. For who is fitter to give countenance to so many great states, than such an highe and mightie Princesse? who is fitter to revive the dead memorie of their fame, than she that beareth the lively image of their vertues? who is fitter to authorize a worke of so great learning and wisedome, than she whome all do honor as the Muse of the world? Therefore I humbly beseech your Majestie, to suffer the

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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

simplenes of my translation, to be covered under the amplenes of your highnes protection. For, most gracious Sovereigne, though this booke be no booke for your Majesties selfe, who are meeter to be the chiefe storie, than a student therein, and can better understand it in Greeke, than any man can make it Englishe: yet I hope the common sorte of your subjects, shall not onely profit them selves hereby, but also be animated to the better service of your Majestie. For amonge all the profane bookes, that are in reputacion at this day, there is none (your highnes best knowes) that teacheth so much honor, love, obedience, reverence, zeale, and devocion to Princes, as these lives of Plutarke doe. Howe many examples shall your subjects reade here, of severall persons, and whole armyes, of noble and base, of younge and olde, that both by sea and lande, at home and abroad, have strayned their wits, not regarded their states, ventured their persons, cast away their lives, not onely for the honor and safetie, but also for the pleasure of their Princes?

Then well may the Readers thinke, if they have done this for heathen Kings, what should we doe for Christian Princes? If they have done this for glorye, what shoulde we doe for religion? If they have done this without hope of heaven, what

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should we doe that looke for immortalitie? And so adding the encouragement of these exsamples, to the forwardnes of their owne dispositions: what service is there in warre, what honor in peace, which they will not be ready to doe, for their worthy Queene?

And therefore that your highnes may give grace to the booke, and the booke may doe his service to your Majestie: I have translated it out of French, and doe here most humbly present the same unto your highnes, beseeching your Majestie with all humilitie, not to reject the good meaning, but to pardon the errours of your most humble and obedient subject and servaunt, who prayeth God long to multiplye all graces and blessings upon your Majestie. Written the sixteene day of Ianuary. 1579.

Your Majesties most humble and
obedient servaunt,

THOMAS NORTH.

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TO THE READER

THE profit of stories, and the prayse of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epistle to the Reader: So that I shall not neede to make many wordes thereof. And in deede if you will supply the defects of this translation, with your owne diligence and good understanding: you shall not neede to trust him, you may prove your selves, that there is no prophane studye better then Plutarke. All other learning is private, fitter for Universities then cities, fuller of contemplacion than experience, more commendable in the students them selves, than profitable unto others. Whereas stories are fit for every place, reache to all persons, serve for all tymes, teache the living, revive the dead, so farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to see learning in noble mens lives, than to reade it in Philosophers writings. Nowe for the Author, I will not denye but love may deceive me, for I must needes love him with whome I have taken so much payne: but I beleve I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitablest story of all Authors. For all other were fayne to take their matter, as the fortune of the contries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath chosen the speciall actes of the best persons, of the famosest nations of the world. But I will leave the judgement to your selves. My onely purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation, with your owne gentlenes, and with the opinion of my diligence and good entent. And so I wishe you all the profit of the booke. Fare ye well. The foure and twenty day of Ianuary. 1579.

THOMAS NORTH.

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LIVES OF THE NOBLE

AMIOT TO THE READERS

HE reading of bookes which bring but a vayne and unprofitable pleasure to the Reader, is justly misliked of wise and grave men. Againe, the reading of such as doe but onely bring profit, and make the Reader to be in love therewith, and doe not ease the payne of the reading by some pleasauntnes in the same: doe seeme somewhat harshe to divers delicate wits, that can not tary long upon them. But such bookes as yeeld pleasure and profit, and doe both delight and teache, have all that a man can desire why they should be universally liked and allowed of all sortes of men, according to the common saying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth winne the price in every poynt aright.

Eyther of these yeeld his effect the better, by reason the one runneth with the other, profiting the more bicause of the delight, and deliting the more bicause of the profit. This commendacion (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to have pleasure and profit matched together, which kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this wise arme in arme, hath more allowance than any other kind of writing or invention of man. In respect whereof it may be reasonably avowed, that men are more beholding to such good wits, as by their grave and wise writing have deserved the name of Historiographers, then they are to any other kind of writers: bicause an historie is an orderly register of notable things sayd, done, or happened in tyme past, to mainteyne the continuall remembraunce of them, and to serve for the instruction of them to come.

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And like as memorie is as a storehouse of mens conceits and devises, without the which the actions of the other two partes should be unperfect; and welneare unprofitable: So may it also be sayd, that an historie is the very treasury of mans life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, and the wonderfull adventures and straunge cases (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserved from the death of forgetfulnes. Hereuppon it riseth, that Plato the wise sayth, that the name of historie was given to this recording of matters, to stay the fleeting of our memorie, which otherwise would be soone lost, and retayne litle. And we may well perceive how greatly we be beholding unto it, if we doe no more but consider in how horrible darkenes, and in how beastly and pestilent a quamyre of ignoraunce we should be plunged: if the remembraunce of all the thinges that have bene done, and have happened before we were borne, were utterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will overpasse the excellencie and worthines of the thing it selfe, forasmuch as it is not onely of more antiquitie then any other kind of writing that ever was in the worlde, but also was used among men, before there was any use of letters at all: bicause that men in those dayes delivered in their lifetimes the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songes, which they caused their children to learne by hart, from hand to hand, as is to be seene yet in our dayes, by thexample of the barbarous people that inhabite the new found landes in the West, who without any records of writings, have had the knowledge of thinges past, welneare eyght hundred yeares afore. Likewise I leave to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, and durablest monument that men can leave of their doings in this world, to consecrate their names to immortalitye. For there is nether picture, nor image of marble, nor arch of triumph, nor piller, nor sumptuous sepulchre, that can match the durablenes of an eloquent history, furnished with the properties which it ought to have. Again, I mind not to stand much upon this, that it hath a certain troth in it, in that it alwaies professeth to speake truth, and for that the proper ground thereof is to treate of the greatest and highest thinges that are done in the world: insomuch that (to my seming) the great profit thereof

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AMIOT TO THE READERS

is as Horace saith, that it is commonly called the mother of troth and uprightnes, which commendeth it so greatly, as it needeth not elswhere to seeke any authority, or ornament of dignitie, but of her very selfe. For it is a certaine rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth us to judge of thinges present, and to foresee things to come: so as we may know what to like of, and what to follow, what to mislike, and what to eschew. It is a picture, which (as it were in a table) setteth before our eies the things worthy of remembrance that have bene done in olde time by mighty nations, noble kings and Princes, wise governors, valiant Captaines, and persons renowmed for some notable qualitie, representing unto us the maners of straunge nations, the lawes and customs of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations and enterprises, the meanes that they have used to compasse them withall, and their demeaning of them selves when they were comen to the highest, or throwen down to the lowest degre of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or warre, in publike or private affayres, but that the person which shall have diligently red, well conceived, and throughly remembred histories, shall find matter in them whereat to take light, and counsell whereby to resolve him selfe to take a part, or to give advise unto others, how to choose in doubtfull and daungerous cases that, which may be for their most profit, and in time to find out to what poynt the matter will come if it be well handled: and how to moderate him selfe in prosperitie, and how to cheere up and beare him selfe in adversitie. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacie, and speede, than the bookes of morall Philosophie doe: forasmuch as examples are of more force to move and instruct, than are the arguments and proofes of reason, or their precise precepts, bicause examples be the very formes of our deedes, and accompanied with all circumstances. Whereas reasons and demonstrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into understanding: and examples tende to the shewing of them in practise and execution, bicause they doe not onely declare what is to be done, but also worke a desire to doe it, as well in respect of a certaine naturall inclination which all men have

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to follow examples, as also for the beautie of vertue, which is of such power, that wheresoever she is seene, she maketh her selfe to be loved and liked. Againe, it doth thinges with greater weight and gravitie, than the inventions and devises of the Poets: bicause it helpeth not it selfe with any other thing than with the plaine truth, whereas Poetry doth commonly inrich things by commending them above the starrs and their deserving, bicause the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreover, it doth thinges with more grace and modestie than the civill lawes and ordinances doe: bicause it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, than to chastise or punish. And yet for all this, an historie also hath his maner of punishing the wicked, by the reproch of everlasting infamie, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance, which is a great meane to withdraw them from vice, who otherwise would be lewdly and wickedly disposed. Likewise on the contrary parte, the immortall praise and glorye wherewith it rewardeth well doers, is a very livcly and sharpe spurre for men of noble corage and gentlemanlike nature, to cause them to adventure upon all maner of noble and great thinges. For bookes are full of examples of men of high courage and wisedom, who for desire to continue the remembraunce of their name, by the sure and certaine recorde of histories, have willingly yeelded their lyves to the service of the common weale, spent their goods, susteyned infinite peynes both of body and mind in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of lawes and governments, and in the finding out of artes and sciences necessary for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithfull registring whereof, the thanke is due to histories. And although true vertue seeke no reward of her commendable doinges like a hyreling, but contenteth her selfe with the conscience of her well doing: yet notwithstanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to draw men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honor of their vertuous deedes, seeing that honor doth naturally accompany vertue, as the shadowe doth the bodye. For we commonly see, not to feele the sparkes of desire of honor, is an infallible signe of a base, vile, and cloynish nature: and that such as account it

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AMIOT TO THE READERS

an unnecessary, needelesse, or unseemely thing to be praysed, are likewise no doers of any thinges worthy of prayse, but are commonly men of faint corage, whose thoughtes extende no further than to their lives, whereof also they have no further remembraunce, than is before their eyes. But if the counsell of olde men be to be greatly esteemed, bicause they must needes have seene much by reason of their longe life: and if they that have travelled longe in straunge contries, and have had the managing of many affayres, and have gotten great experience of the doings of this worlde, are reputed for sage, and worthy to have the reynes of greate governments put into their handes: howe greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, which is able to furnishe us with moe examples in one daye, than the whole course of the longest life of any man is able to doe. Insomuch that they which exercise them selves in reading as they ought to doe, although they be but young, become such in respect of understanding of the affayres of this world, as if they were olde and grayheaded, and of long experience. Yea though they never have removed out of their houses, yet are they advertised, informed, and satisfied of all things in the world, as well as they that have shortned their lives by innumerable travells and infinite daungers, in ronning over the whole earth that is inhabited: whereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done and come to passe before they were borne, continue stil as children, though they be never so aged, and are but as straungers in their owne native contries. To be short, it may be truely sayd, that the reading of histories is the schole of wisedom, to facion mens understanding, by considering advisedly the state of the world that is past, and by marking diligently by what lawes, maners, and discipline, Empires, kingdoms and dominions, have in old time bene stablished, and afterward mainteyned and increased: or contrariwise chaunged, diminished, and overthrowen. Also we reade, that whensoever the right sage and vertuous Emperour of Rome, Alexander Severus, was to consult of any matter of great importance, whether it concerned warres or government: he alwayes called such to counsell, as were reported to be well scene in histories. Notwithstanding, I know there are that will stand against me in

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this poynt, and uphold that the reading of histories can serve to small purpose, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: bicause skill consisteth in action, and is ingendred by the very experience and practise of things, when a man doth wel marke and throughly beare away the things that he hath seene with his eyes, and found true by proofe, according to the saying of the auncient Poet Afranius:

My name is skill, my Syre Experience hyght,
And memorie bred and brought me forth to lyght.

Which thing was ment likewise by the Philosopher that sayd, that the hand is the instrument of skill. By reason whereof it comes to passe (say they) that such as speake of matters of government and state, but specially of matters of warre by the booke, speake but as booke knights, as the Frenche proverbe termeth them, after the manner of the Græcians, who call him a booke Pilot, which hath not the sure and certaine knowledge of the things that he speakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the understanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that consist in the deede doing, where the hand is to be set to the worke: no more then the often hearing of men talke and reason of paynting, or the disputing uppon colors, without taking of the pensill in hand, can stand a man in any stead at all to make him a good paynter. But on the contrary part, many have proved wise men and good Captaines, which could neither write nor reade. Besides this, they alleage further, that in matters of warre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by meanes whereof the slights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, will serve the turne no more than mynes that are blowen up. According whereunto Cambyses telleth his sonne Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Musicke the newest songs are commonly best liked of for once, bicause they were never heard afore: So in the warres, those policies that never were practised afore, are those that take best successe, and commonly have the best effect, bicause the enemies doe least doubt of them. Neverthelesse I am not he that will mainteyne that a wise governor of a common weale, or a great Captaine can be made of such a person, as hath never travelled out of his study, and

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AMIOT TO THE READERS

from his bookes: howbeit that which Cicero writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieuetenant of the Romanes, to make warre against kinge Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the warres, and yet afterward he bestowed so great diligence in the reading of histories, and in conferring uppon every poynt with the olde Captaines and men of longe experience, whome he caried with him, that by the tyme of his comming into Asia, where he was in deede to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a very sufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: insomuch that by those wayes, cleane contrary to the common order of warre, he discomfited two of the most puyssant, and greatest Princes that were at that time in the East. For his understanding was so quicke, his care so vigilant, and his courage so greate, that he needed no longe trayning, nor grosse instruction by experience. And although I graunt there have beene diverse Governors and Captaynes, which by the onely force of nature (furthered by longe continewed experience) have done goodly and greate exploytes: yet can it not be denyed me, but that if they had matched the giftes of nature with the knowledge of learning, and the reading of histories, they might have done much greater thinges, and they might have becomen much more perfect. For like as in every other cunning and skill wherein a man intendeth to excell: so also to become a perfect and sufficient person to governe in peace and warre, there are three thinges of necessitie required, namely, nature, art, and practise. Nature (in the case that we treate of) must furnishe us with a good moother wit, with a bodie well disposed to indure all maner of travell, and with a good will to advaunce our selves: Art must geve us judgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wise discourses that we have read and double read in good histories: and practise will get us readinesse, assurednesse, and the ease how to put thinges in execution. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a vertue of the minde which teacheth a man the meane poynt, betweene the two faultie extremities of too much and too litle, wherein the commendation of all doinges consisteth. And whosoever he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely

Three things necessary for a Magistrate, or Captaine.

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triall of experience, and had lever to learne it at his owne cost, than at an other mans: he may well be of the number of those that are touched by this auncient proverbe, which sayth, Experience is the schoolemistresse of fooles: bicause mans life is so short, and experience is hard and daungerous, specially in matters of warre, wherein (according to the saying of Tamachus the Athenian Captaine) a man can not fault twice, bicause the faultes are so great, that most commonly they bring with them the overthrow of the state, or the losse of the lives of those that do them. Therefore we must not tary for this wit that is won by experience, which costeth so deere, and is so long a comming, that a man is ofttimes dead in the seeking of it before he have attained it, so as he had neede of a seconde life to imploy it in, bicause of the overlate comming by it. But we must make speede by our diligent and continuall reading of histories both old and new, that we may enjoy this happinesse which the Poet speaketh of:

Proverbe.

> *A happie wight is he that by mishappes*
> *Of others, doth beware of afterclappes.*

By the way, as concerning those that saye that paper will beare all things: if there be any that unworthily take upon them the name of historiographers, and deface the dignity of the story for hatred or favor, by mingling any untrueth with it: that is not the fault of the historie, but of the men that are partiall, who abuse that name unworthily, to cover and cloke their owne passions withall, which thing shall never come to passe, if the writer of the storie have the properties that are necessarily required in a storie writer, as these: That he set aside all affection, be voyde of envy, hatred and flattery: that he be a man experienced in the affaires of the world, of good utterance, and good judgement to discerne what is to be sayd, and what to be left unsayd, and what would do more harme to have it declared, than do good to have it reproved or condemned: forasmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to serve the common weale, and that he is but as a register to set downe the judgements and definitive sentences of Gods Court, whereof some are geven according to the ordinarie course and capacitie of our weake naturall reason, and other some goe according to

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AMIOT TO THE READERS

Gods infinite power and incomprehensible wisedom, above and against all discourse of mans understanding, who being unable to reach to the bottome of his judgements, and to finde out the first motions and groundes thereof, do impute the cause of them to a certaine fortune, which is nought else but a fained device of mans wit, dazeled at the beholding of such brightnesse, and confounded at the gaging of so bottomlesse a deepe, howbeit nothing commeth to passe nor is done without the leave of him that is the verie right and trueth it selfe, with whom nothing is past or to come, and who knoweth and understandeth the very originall causes of all necessitie. The consideration whereof teacheth men to humble them selves under his mightie hande by acknowledging that there is one first cause which overruleth nature, whereof it commeth, that neither hardinesse is alwaies happie, nor wisedom alwaies sure of good successe. These so notable commodities are every where accompanied with singular delight, which proceedeth chiefly of diversitie and novelty wherein our nature delighteth and is greatly desirous of: bicause we having an earnest inclination towards our best prosperity and advauncement, it goeth on still, seeking it in every thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But forasmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content it selfe under the cope of heaven, it is soone weary of the things that it had earnestly desired affore, and so goeth on wandring in the unskilfulnes of her likings wherof she never ceasseth to make a continuall chaunging untill she have fully satisfied her desires, by attaining to the last end, which is to be knit to her chiefe felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodlines and goodnes. This liking of varietie can not be better releeved, than by that which is the finder out and the preserver of time, the father of all noveltie, and messenger of antiquitie. For if we finde a certaine singular pleasure, in hearkening to such as be returned from some long voyage, and doe report things which they have seene in straunge contries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of lives, differing from ours: and if we be sometime so ravished with delight and pleasure at the hearing of the talke of some wise, discreete, and well spoken old man, from whose mouth there floweth a streame of

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speech sweeter than honnie, in rehearsing the adventures which he hath had in his greene and youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath indured, and the perills that he hath overpassed, so as we perceive not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we be ravished with delight and wondring, to behold the state of mankind, and the true successe of things, which antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the setting up of Empires, the overthrow of Monarchies, the rising and falling of Kingdoms, and all things else worthie admiration, and the same lively set forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that so lively, as in the very reading of them we feele our mindes to be so touched by them, not as though the thinges were alreadie done and past, but as though they were even then presently in doing, and we finde our selves caried away with gladnesse and griefe through feare or hope, well neere as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithstanding we be not in any paine or daunger, but only conceive in our mindes the adversities that other folkes have indured, our selves sitting safe with our contentation and ease, according to these verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease
Upon the land, and safely thence to see
How other folkes are tossed on the seaes,
That with the blustring windes turmoyled be.
Not that the sight of others miseries
Doth any way the honest hart delight,
But for bicause it liketh well our eyes,
To see harmes free that on our selves might light.

Also it is seene that the reading of histories doth so holde and allure good wits, that divers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serveth very fittely to turne away their griefes, and somtimes also to remedie their diseases. As for example, we find it written of Alphonsus King of Naples, that Prince so greatly renowmed in Chronicles for his wisedom and goodnesse, that being sore sicke in the citie of Capua, when his Phisitions had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he saw that nothing prevailed: he determined with him selfe to take no

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AMIOT TO THE READERS

mo medicines, but for his recreacion caused the storie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be red before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke so wonderfull pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and overcame the waywardnes of his disease. Whereupon having soone recovered his helth, he discharged his Phisitions with such words as these: Feast me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, sith they can no skill to helpe me to recover my helth: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to helpe me to recover my helth. Now if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I say it is much more for great Princes and Kings, bicause they have to do with charges of greatest weight and difficultie, to be best stored with giftes and knowledge for the discharge of their dueties: seeing the ground of stories is, to treate of all maner of high matters of state, as warres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more fit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: bicause they being bred and brought up tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons, (as meete is for so great states to have) they take not so great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoveth those to take which will learne the noble auncient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philosophie. Againe, when they come to mans state, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, so as there remaineth no exercise of wit more convenient for them, than the reading of histories in their owne tunge, which without paine is able to teache them even with great pleasure and ease, whatsoever the painfull workes of the Philosophers concerning the government of common weales can shewe them, to make them skilful in the well ruling and governing of the people and contries that God hath put under their subjection. But the worst is, that they ever (or for the most part) have such maner of persons about them as seeke nothing els but to please them by all the wayes they can, and there are very few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas on the contrary part, an history flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of such as were like them

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in greatnesse of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalereus (a man renowmed aswell for his skill in the good government of a common weale, as for his excellent knowledge otherwise) counselled Ptolomy, first king of Ægypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he should often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the government of kingdomes, bicause (sayd he) thou shalt finde many things there, which thy servaunts and familiar friendes dare not tell thee. Moreover, this is another thinge, that suche great personages can not easily travell out of the bounds of their dominions, to goe view straunge contries as private persons doe: bicause the jelousie of their estate, and the regarde of their dignitie, requires that they should never be in place where another man might commaund them. And often times for want of having seene the contries, and knowen the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they have adventured uppon attempts without good ground: to avoyde the which, the instruction they may have by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause then onely this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of histories, wherein are written the heroicall deedes of wise and valiant men, specially of kings that have bene before them, the considering whereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage: bicause the seedes of Princely vertues that are bred with them selves, doe then quicken them up with an emulacion towards those that have bene or are equall in degree with them, aswell in respect of noblenes of bloud, as of greatnes of state, so as they be loth to give place to any person, and much lesse can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doinges. Whereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing were not so wel knowen of it self, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needefull to prove it. Therefore a man may truely conclude, that an historie is the scholemistresse of Princes, at whose hand they may without payne, in way of pastyme, and with singular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belonge to their office. Now, according to the diversitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and

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AMIOT TO THE READERS

manner of writing that it useth, it hath sondry names given unto it: But yet among the rest there are two chiefe kinds. The one which setteth downe mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other which declareth their natures, sayings, and maners, is properly named their lives. And although the ground of them both doe cloze very neare in one, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceede from within: the one the events, the other the consultacions: betweene the which there is oftentymes great oddes, according to this aunswer of the Persian Siramnes, to such as marvelled how it came to passe, that his devises being so politike had so unhappy successe: It is (quod he) bicause my devises are wholly from my own invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king. And surely amonge all those that ever have taken uppon them to write the lives of famous men, the chiefe prerogative, by the judgement of such as are clearest sighted, is justly given to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarke, borne in the citie of Chæronea in the contry of Bœotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt, if they lyst to read them through, who all his life long even to his old age, had to deale in affayres of the common weale, as he him selfe witnesseth in divers places, specially in the treatise which he intitled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the government of a common weale or not: *and who had the hap and honor to be schoolemaster to the Emprour Trajan, as is commonly beleeved, and as is expressely pretended by a certaine Epistle set before the Latin translation of his matters of state, which (to say the truth) seemeth in my judgement to be somewhat suspicious, bicause I find it not among his workes in Greeke, besides that it speaketh as though the booke were dedicated to Trajan, which thinge is manifestly disproved by the beginning of the booke, and by divers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding, bicause me thinkes it is sagely and gravely written, and well beseeming him: I have set it downe here in this place. 'Plutarke unto Trajan sendeth*

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'greeting. I know well that the modestie of your nature was 'not desirous of Sovereintie, though you have alwayes inde- 'vored to deserve it by your honorable conversation: by reason 'whereof you have bene thought so much the worthier of it, 'as you have bene founde the further of from all ambition. 'And therefore I do now rejoice in your vertue and my for- 'tune, if it be so great as to cause you to administer that 'thing with justice, which you have obtained by desert. For 'otherwise I am sure you have put your selfe in hazard of 'great daungers, and me in perill of slaunderous tongues, 'bicause Rome can not away with a wicked Emperour, and the 'common voyce of the people is alwaies wont to cast the faultes 'of the schollers in the teeth of their schoolemaisters: as for 'example: Seneca is railed upon by slaunderous tonges, for the 'faultes of his scholler Nero: the scapes of Quintilians young 'schollers are imputed to Quintilian him selfe: and Socrates 'is blamed, for being too myld to his hearers. But as for 'you, there is hope you shall doe all things well enough, so 'you keepe you as you are. If you first set your selfe in 'order, and then dispose all other things according to vertue, 'all things shall fall out according to your desire. I have set 'you downe the meanes in writing, which you must observe for 'the well governing of your common weale, and have shewed 'you of how great force your behaviour may be in that behalfe. 'If you thinke good to follow those thinges, you have Plutarke 'for the directer and guider of your life: if not, I protest 'unto you by this Epistle, that your falling into daunger to 'the overthrow of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke.' This Epistle witnesseth plainly that he was the schoolemaister of Trajan, which thing seemeth to be avowed by this writing of Suidas: Plutarke being borne in the citie of Chæronea in Bœotia, was in the time of the Emperour Trajan, and somwhat affore. But Trajan honored him with the dignitie of Consul- ship, and commaunded the officers and Magistrates that were throughout all the contrie of Illyria, that they should not do any thing without his counsell and authoritie. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am of opinion, that Trajan being so wise an Emperour, would never have done him so great honor, if he had not thought him selfe greatly beholding to him for

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some speciall cause. But the thing that maketh me most to beleve it true, is, that the same goodnesse and justice appeared to be naturally imprinted in most of Trajans sayings and doings, whereof the paterne and mowld (as a man might terme it) is cast and set downe in Plutarkes Moralls, so as men may perceive expressely, that the one could well skill to performe rightly, that which the other had taught wisely. For Dion writeth, that among other honors which the Senate of Rome gave by decree unto Trajan, they gave him the title of the Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that even unto his time, when a new Emperour came to be received of the Senate, among the cries of good hansell, and the wishes of good lucke that were made unto him, one was: Happier be thou than Augustus, and better than Trajan. Howsoever the case stoode, it is very certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes unto him. But when he had lived a long time at Rome, and was come home againe to his owne house, he fell to writing of this excellent worke of Lives, which he calleth Parallelon, as much to say, as a cupling or matching together, bicause he matcheth a Grecian with a Romane, setting downe their lives ech after other, and comparing them together, as he founde any likenesse of nature, condicions, or adventures betwext them, and examining what the one of them had better or worser, greater or lesser than the other: which things he doth with so goodly and grave discourse every where, taken out of the deepest and most hidden secrets of morall and naturall Philosophie, with so sage precepts and frutefull instructions, with so effectuall commendation of vertue, and detestation of vice, with so many goodly allegacions of other authors, with so many fit comparisons, and with so many high inventions: that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treasorie of all rare and perfect learning, than by any other name. Also it is sayd, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of singular learning, and a worthie of the auncient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar frendes (which saw him so earnestly given to his studie, that he forgate all other things) what author he had leverest to choose, if he were at that poynt that he must needes choose some one to holde him to alone, did aunswere that he would choose Plutarke: bicause

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that if they were all put together, there was no one both so profitable, and so pleasaunt to read, as he. Sosius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his worke, was a Senator of Rome, as witnesseth Dion, who writeth that the three persons whom Trajan most loved and honored, were Sosius, Parma, and Celsus, insomuch that he caused images of them to be set up. True it is that he wrote the lives of many other men, which the spitefulnes of time hath bereft us of, among which he himselfe maketh mention of the lives of Scipio Africanus, and Metellus Numidicus. And I have red a litle Epistle of a sonne of his, whose name is not expressed, copied out of an olde copie in the Librarie of S. Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a frende of his, a register of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the cupples of lives he setteth downe the lives of Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly the lives of Augustus Cæsar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But having used all the diligence that I could in serching the chiefe Libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could never find them out. Onely I drew out certaine diversities of readinges, and many corrections by conferring the old written copies with the printed bookes: which have stoode me in great stead to the understanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I have restored by conjecture, by the judgement and helpe of such men of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine some places unamended, howbeit very fewe, bicause some lines were wanting in the originall copies, whereof (to my seeming) it was better for me to witnesse the want by marking it with some starre: than to gesse at it with all adventure, or to adde any thing to it. Now finally, if I have overshot my selfe in any thing, as it is verie easie to do in so hard and long a worke, specially to a man of so small abilitie as I am: I beseeche the Readers to wouchsafe for my discharge, to admit the excuse which the Poet Horace giveth me, where he sayth:

> *A man may well be overseene*
> *In workes that long and tedious bene.*

Specially sith that of so many good men, and men of skill

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as have heretofore set hand to the translating of it, there was never yet any one found that went through with it in any language, at least wise that I have seene or heard of: and that such as have enterprised to translate it, specially into Latin, have evidently witnessed the hardnesse thereof, as they may easely perceive which list to conferre their translations with mine. Neverthelesse if it so fortune that men find not the speech of this translation so flowing, as they have found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I beseech the readers to consider, that the office of a fit translater, consisteth not onely in the faithfull expressing of his authors meaning, but also in a certaine resembling and shadowing out of the forme of his style and the maner of his speaking: unlesse he will commit the errour of some painters, who having taken upon them to draw a man lively, do paint him long where he should be short, and grosse where he should be slender, and yet set out the resemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harsh or rude soever my speech be, yet am I sure that my translation will be much easier to my contriemen, than the Greeke copie is, even to such as are best practised in the Greeke tonge, by reason of Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing, which is rather sharpe, learned, and short, than plaine, polished, and easie. At the hardest, although I have not compassed my matters so happily as ye coulde have wished and desired: yet do I hope that your Lordships in reading it will hold the parties good will excused, which hath taken such paines in doing of it to profit you. And if my labor be so happie, as to content you: God be praised for it, which hath given me the grace to finish it.

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THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES

compared by PLUTARKE of CHÆRONEA

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THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES

compared together by that grave learned
Philosopher and Historiographer
PLUTARCHE OF CHÆRONEA

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THE LIFE OF THESEUS

IKE as historiographers describing the world (frende Sossius Senecio) doe of purpose referre to the uttermost partes of their mappes the farre distant regions whereof they be ignoraunt, with this note: these contries are by meanes of sandes and drowthes unnavigable, rude, full of venimous beastes, Scythian ise, and frosen seas. Even so may I (which in comparinge noble mens lives have already gone so farre into antiquitie, as the true and certaine historie could lead me) of the rest, being thinges past all proofe or chalenge, very well say: that beyonde this time all is full of suspicion and dout, being delivered us by Poets and Tragedy makers, sometimes without trueth and likelihoode, and alwayes without certainty. Howbeit, having heretofore set foorth the lives of Lycurgus (which established the lawes of the Lacedæmonians) and of king Numa Pompilius: me thought I might go a litle further to the life of Romulus, sence I was come so nere him. But considering my selfe as the Poet Æschilus did:

Sossius Senecio a Senator of Rome.

> What champion may with such a man compare?
> or who (thinke I) shalbe against him set?
> Who is so bold? or who is he that dare
> defend his force, in such encounter met?

In the end I resolved to match him which did set up the noble and famous city of Athens, with him which founded the glorious and invincible city of Rome. Wherein I would wishe that the inventions of Poets, and the traditions of fabulous antiquitie, would suffer them selves to be purged

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THESEUS

and reduced to the forme of a true and historicall reporte: but when they square too much from likelyhode, and can not be made credible, the readers will of curtesie take in good parte that, which I could with most probability wryte of such antiquities. Now surely me thinkes, that Theseus in many thinges was much like unto Romulus. For being both begotten by stealth, and out of lawful matrimony: both were reputed to be borne of the seede of the goddes.

Theseus and Romulus very like.

Both valiant were, as all the world doth know.

Both joyned valiancy with government. The one of them built Rome, and the other, by gathering into one dispersed people, erected the citie of Athens: two of the most noble cities of the worlde. The one and the other were ravishers of women: and neither thone nor thother coulde avoyde the mischiefe of quarrell and contention with their frendes, nor the reproch of staining them selves with the blood of their nearest kinsemen. Moreover, they say that both the one and the other in the end did get the hate and ill will of their citizens: at the least if we will beleve that reporte of Theseus, which carieth greatest show of trueth. Theseus of his fathers side, was descended of the right linage of Ericthêus the great, and of the first inhabitants which occupied the contrie of Attica, the which since were called Autocthones, as much to say, as borne of them selves. For there is no memorie, or other mention made, that they came out of any other contry then that. And of his mothers side he came of Pelops, who was in his time the mightiest king of all the contrie of Peloponnesus, not so much for his goodes and richesse, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many in number, he bestowed on the greatest Lordes of all the contrie: his sonnes also, which likewise were many, he dispersed into diverse cities and free townes, findinge meanes to make them governors and heades of the same. Pitheus, grandfather to Theseus on the mothers side, was one of his sonnes, and founded the litle city of Trœzen, and was reputed to be one of the wisest men of his time. But the knowledge and wisedom, which onely caried estimacion at that time, consisted altogether in grave

The linage of Theseus.

Pelops, king of Peloponnesus.

Pitheus the grandfather of Theseus.

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sentences, and morall sayinges. As those are which wanne the Poet Hesiodus such fame for his booke intituled, The workes and dayes: in the which is read even at this present, this goodly sentence, which they father upon Pitheus: THESEUS

The wisedom of Pitheus.

> Thou shalt performe, thy promise and thy pay:
> to hyred men, and that without delay.

And this doth Aristotle the Philosopher himselfe testifie: and the Poet Euripides also, calling Hippolytus the scholler of the holy Pitheus, doth sufficiently declare of what estimacion he was. But Ægeus desiring (as they say) to know how he might have children, went unto the city of Delphes to the oracle of Apollo: where by Apolloes Nunne that notable prophecy was geven him for an aunswer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, untill he was returned againe to Athens. And bicause the words of this prophecy were somewhat darke, and hard: he tooke his way by the city of Trœzen, to tell it unto Pitheus. The wordes of the prophecy were these:

Ægeus the father of Theseus.

> O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace,
> plucke not the tappe, out of thy trusty toonne:
> Before thou do, returne unto thy place,
> in Athens towne, from whence thy race doth roonne.

Pitheus understanding the meaning, perswaded him, or rather cunningly by some devise deceived him in such sorte, that he made him to lye with his daughter called Æthra. Ægeus after he had accompanied with her, knowing that she was Pitheus daughter with whom he had lyen, and douting that he had gotten her with child: left her a sword and a payer of shoes, the which he hidde under a great hollow stone, the hollownes wherof served just to receive those things which he layed under it, and made no living creature privy to it but her alone, straightly charging her, that if she happened to have a sonne, when he were come to mans state, and of strength to remove the stone, and to take those things from under it which he left there: that she should then sende him unto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body els might knowe of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called Pallas, the which

Æthra the daughter of king Pitheus, and the mother of Theseus.

The Pallantides.

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THESEUS laye in wayte and spyall by all the meanes they could to kill him, only of despight bicause he had no children, they being fiftie brethern, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And Æthra within fewe moneths after was delivered of a goodly sonne, the which from that time was called Theseus: and as some say, so called, bicause of the tokens of knowledge his father had layed under the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwardes at Athens when his father knewe him, and avowed him for his sonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie and childehood, he was brought up in the house of his grandfather Pitheus, under the government and teaching of one called Connidas, his schoolemaster: in honour of whom the Athenians to this daye doe sacrifice a weather, the daye before the great feaste of Theseus, having more reason to honour the memorye of this governour, then of a Silanion and of a Parrhasius, to whom they doe honour also, bicause they paynted and caste mowldes of the images of Theseus. Now there was a custome at that time in Grece, that the yong men after their infancie and growth to mans state, went unto the cittie of Delphes, to offer parte of their heares in the temple of Apollo. Theseus also went thither as other did: and some saye that the place where the ceremonie of this offering was made, hath ever sence kept the olde name, (and yet continueth) Theseia. Howbeit he dyd not shave his head but before only, as Homer sayeth, like the facion of the Abantes in olde time: and this manner of shaving of heares, was called for his sake, Theseida. And as concerning the Abantes, in trothe they were the very first that shaved them selves after this facion: nevertheles they learned it not of the Arabians as it was thought of some, neither dyd they it after the imitation of the Missians. But bicause they were warlike and valliant men, which did joyne neere unto their enemie in battell, and above all men of the worlde were skilfullest in fight hande to hande, and woulde keepe their grounde: as the Poet Archilochus witnesseth in these verses:

Pallas had fiftie sonnes.

Why Theseus was so called.

Connidas Theseus schoolemaster.

A custome to offer heares at Delphes.

Theseia.

Theseus maner of shaving.

The Abantes.

> They use no slynges in foughten fields to have,
> nor bended bowes: but swords and trenchant blades.

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For when fierce Mars beginneth for to rave,
in bloody field: then every man invades
His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand.
then doe they deeds, right cruell to reconpt.
For in this wise, the brave and warlike bande
do shew their force which come from Negrepont.

The cause why they were thus shaven before, was, for that their enemies should not have the vauntage to take them by the heares of the head while they were fighting. And for this selfe same consideration, Alexander the great commaunded his captaines to cause all the Macedonians to shave their beards: bicause it is the easiest holde (and readiest for the hande) a man can have of his enemie in fighting, to holde him fast by the same. But to returne to Theseus. Æthra his mother had ever unto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true father. And Pitheus also had geven it out abroade, that he was begotten of Neptune, bicause the Trœzenians have this god in great veneration, and doe worshippe him as patron and protector of their cittie, making offerings to him of their first fruites: and they have for the marke and stampe of their money, the three picked mace, which is the signe of Neptune, called his Trident. But after he was comen to the prime and lustines of his youth, and that with the strength of his bodie he shewed a great courage, joyned with a naturall wisedome, and stayednes of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollowe stone laye, and telling him truely the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers tokens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, and gave him counsell to goe by sea to Athens unto him. Theseus easilye lyft up the stone, and tooke his fathers tokens from under it: Howbeit he answered playnely, that he would not goe by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the safer waye, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, bicause the waye by lande from Trœzen to Athens was very daungerous, all the wayes being besett by robbers and murderers. For the worlde at that time brought forth men, which for strongnesse in their armes, for swyftnes of feete, and for a generall

The cause of shaving their heares before.

Alexander Magnus made the Macedonians shave their beardes.

Theseus said to be Neptunes sonne.

The Trœzenians coyne stamped with Neptunes three picked mace.

Theseus youthe.

Great robbing in Theseus time. *Thucid.* lib. 1.

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strength of the whole bodye, dyd farre passe the common force of others, and were never wearie for any labour or travell they tooke in hande. But for all this, they never employed these giftes of nature to any honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanously to hurte and wronge others: as if all the fruite and profit of their extraordinary strength had consisted in crueltye, and violence only, and to be able to keepe others under and in subjection, and to force, destroye, and spoyle all that came to their handes. Thincking that the more parte of those which thincke it a shame to doe ill, and commend justice, equitie, and humanitie, doe it of fainte cowardly heartes, bicause they dare not wronge others, for feare they should receyve wronge them selves: and therefore, that they which by might could have vauntage over others, had nothing to doe with suche quiet qualities.

Hercules a destroyer of theeves.

Nowe Hercules, travailling abroade in the worlde, drave awaye many of those wicked thevishe murderers, and some of them he slewe and put to death, other as he passed through those places where they kept, dyd hide them selves for feare of him, and gave place: in so much as Hercules, perceyving they were well tamed and brought lowe, made no further reckoning to pursue them any more. But after that by fortune he had slayne Iphitus with his owne handes, and that he was passed over the seas into the countrye of Lydia,

Hercules serveth Omphale.

where he served Queene Omphale a long time, condemning him selfe unto that voluntarie payne, for the murder he had committed. All the Realme of Lydia during his abode there, remained in great peace and securitie from such kynde of people. Howbeit in Grece, and all thereabouts, these olde mischiefes beganne againe to renue, growing hotter and violenter then before: bicause there was no man that punished them, nor that durst take upon him to destroye them. By which occasion, the waye to goe from Peloponnesus to Athens by lande was very perillous. And therefore Pitheus declaring unto Theseus, what manner of theeves there were that laye in the waye, and the outrages and villanies they dyd to all travellers and wayefaring men, sought the rather to perswade him thereby to take his voyage alonge the seas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glorie of

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Hercules noble dedes, had long before secretly sett his hearte on fire, so that he made reckoning of none other but of him, and lovingly hearkened unto those which woulde seeme to describe him what manner of man he was, but chiefly unto those which had seene him, and bene in his companye, when he had sayed or done any thing worthy of memorye. For then he dyd manifestly open him selfe, that he felt the like passion in his hearte, which Themistocles long time afterwardes endured, when he sayed: that the victorie and triumphe of Miltiades would not lett him sleepe. For even so, the wonderfull admiration which Theseus had of Hercules corage, made him in the night that he never dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and in the daye time, pricked forwardes with emulation and envie of his glorie, he determined with him selfe one daye to doe the like, and the rather, bicause they were neere kynsemen, being cosins removed by the mothers side. For Æthra was the daughter of Pitheus, and Alcmena (the mother of Hercules) was the daughter of Lysidices, the which was halfe sister to Pitheus, bothe children of Pelops and of his wife Hippodamia. So he thought he should be utterly shamed and disgraced, that Hercules travelling through the worlde in that sorte, dyd seeke out those wicked theeves to rydde both sea and lande of them: and that he, farre otherwise, should flye occasion that might be offered him, to fight with them that hè should meete on his waye. Moreover, he was of opinion he should greately shame and dishonour him, whom fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in shonning occasion to fight, he should convey him selfe by sea, and should carie to his true father also a paire of shooes, (to make him knowen of him) and a sworde not yet bathed in bloude. Where he should rather seeke cause, by manifest token of his worthie deedes, to make knowen to the worlde, of what noble bloude he came, and from whence he was descended. With this determination, Theseus holdeth on his purposed jorney, with intent to hurte no man, yet to defende him selfe, and to be revenged of those which woulde take upon them to assault him. The first therefore whom he slewe within the territories of the cittie

Theseus foloweth Hercules.

Desire of fame pricketh men forward to great enterprises.

Theseus and Hercules nere kynsemen.

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THESEUS of Epidaurum, was a robber called Periphetes. This robber used for his ordinarie weapon to carie a clubbe, and for that cause he was commonly surnamed Corynetes, that is to saye, a clubbe caryer. So he first strake at Theseus to make him stande: but Theseus fought so lustely with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was so glad, and chiefly for that he had wonne his clubbe, that ever after he caryed it him selfe about with him, as Hercules dyd the lyons skynne. And like as this spoyle of the lyon dyd witnesse the greatnes of the beast which Hercules had slayne: even so Theseus went all about, shewing that this clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne handes invincible. And so going on further, in the streightes of Peloponnesus he killed another, called Sinnis surnamed Pityocamtes, that is to saye, a wreather, or bower of pyne apple trees: whom he put to death in that selfe cruell manner that Sinnis had slayne many other travellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practise or exercise: but only to shewe, that cleane strength coulde doe more, then either arte or exercise. This Sinnis had a goodly fayer daughter called Perigouna, which fled awaye, when she sawe her father slayne: whom he followed and sought all about. But she had hydden her selfe in a grove full of certen kyndes of wilde pricking rushes called Stœbe, and wilde sparage, which she simplye like a childe intreated to hyde her, as if they had heard and had sense to understand her: promising them with an othe, that if they saved her from being founde, she would never cutt them downe, nor burne them. But Theseus fynding her, called her, and sware by his faith he would use her gently, and doe her no hurte, nor displeasure at all. Upon which promise she came out of the bushe, and laye with him, by whom she was conceyved of a goodly boye, which was called Menalippus. Afterwardes Theseus maried her unto one Deioneus, the sonne of Euritus the Oechalian. Of this Menalippus, the sonne of Theseus, came Ioxus: the which with Ornytus brought men into the countrye of Caria, where he buylt the cittie of Ioxides. And hereof cometh that olde auncient ceremonie, observed yet unto this daye by those of Ioxides,

Periphetes Corinetes, a famous robber, slayne of Theseus.

Theseus caried the clubbe he wanne of Periphetes, as Hercules did the lions skin.

Sinnis Pityocamtes, a cruel murtherer slaine.

Perigouna Sinnis daughter.

Theseus begatte Menalippus of Perigouna.

Ioxus, Menalippus sonne.

Ioxides.

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never to burne the bryars of wilde sparage, nor the Stœbe, but they have them in some honour and reverence. Touching the wilde savage sowe of Crommyon, otherwise surnamed Phæa, that is to saye, overgrowen with age: she was not a beast to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kyll. Theseus notwithstanding taryed for her, and kylled her in his jorney, to the ende it shoulde not appeare to the worlde, that all the valliant deedes he dyd, were done by compulsion, and of necessitie: adding thereto his opinion also, that a valliant man should not onely fight with men, to defend him selfe from the wicked: but that he should be the first, to assaulte and slaye wilde hurtefull beastes. Nevertheles others have written, that this Phæa was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her bodye, which spoyled those that passed by the place called Crommyonia, where she dwelt: and that she was surnamed a sowe, for her beastly brutishe behaviour, and wicked life, for the which in the ende she was also slayne by Theseus. After her he kylled Sciron, entring into the territories of Megara, bicause he robbed all travellers by the waye, as the common reporte goeth: or as others saye, for that of a cruell, wicked, and savage pleasure, he put forth his feete to those that passed by the sea side, and compelled them to washe them. And then when they thought to stowpe to doe it, he still spurned them with his feete, till he thrust them hedlong into the sea: so Theseus threw him hedlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of Megara impugning this common reporte, and desirous (as Simonides sayeth) to overthrowe it that had continued by prescription of time: dyd mainteine that this Sciron was never any robber, nor wicked persone, but rather a pursuer and punisher of the wicked, and a friend and a kynseman of the most honest, and justest men of Grece. For there is no man but will confesse, that Æacus was the most vertuous man among the Grecians in his time, and that Cychreus the Salaminian is honoured and reverenced as a god at Athens: and there is no man also but knoweth, that Peleus and Telamon were men of singular vertue. Nowe it is certeine, that this Sciron was the sonne in lawe of Cychreus, father in lawe of Æacus, and grand-

Phæa the wilde sowe of Crommyon slaine.

Phæa a woman theefe.

Sciron a notable robber, throwen downe the rocks by Theseus.

Æacus.

Cychreus.

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THESEUS father of Peleus and of Telamon, the which two were the children of Endeida, the daughter of the sayed Sciron, and of his wife Chariclo. Also it is not very likely, that so many good men would have had affinitie with so naughty and wicked a man: in taking of him, and geving him that, which men love best of all things in the worlde. And therefore the Historiographers saye, that it was not the first time, when Theseus went unto Athens, that he killed Sciron: but that it was many dayes after, when he tooke the cittie of Eleusin, which the Megarians helde at that time, where he deceyved the governour of the cittie called Diocles, and there he slewe Sciron. And these be the objections the Megarians alledged touching this matter. He slewe also Cercyon the Arcadian, in the cittie of Eleusin, wrestling with him. And going a litle further, he slewe Damastes, otherwise surnamed Procrustes, in the cittie of Hermionia: and that by stretching on him out, to make him even with the length and measure of his beddes, as he was wont to doe unto straungers that passed by. Theseus dyd that after the imitation of Hercules, who punished tyrannes with the selfe same payne and torment, which they had made others suffer. For even so dyd Hercules sacrifice Busiris. So he stifled Antheus in wrestling. So he put Cycnus to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake Termerus heade, from whom this proverbe of Termerus evill came, which continueth yet unto this daye: for this Termerus dyd use to put them to death in this sorte whom he met: to jolle his head against theirs. Thus proceeded Theseus after this selfe manner, punishing the wicked in like sorte, justly compelling them tabyde the same payne and torments, which they before had unjustly made others abyde. And so he helde on his jorney untill he came to the river of Cephisus, where certaine persones of the house of the Phytalides were the first which went to meete him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him according to the ceremonies used at that time: and afterwardes having made a sacrifice of propitiation unto their goddes, they made him great chere in their houses: and this was the first notable enterteinment he founde in all his jorney. It is supposed

Cercyon the Arcadian slaine of Theseus by wrestling.

Damastes Procrustes a cruel murtherer, slaine of Theseus.

Hercules doings.

Termerus evill.

Cephisus, a river of Bœotia.

The Phytalides the first men that feasted Theseus in their houses.

This sacrifice Plutarche calleth Milichia.

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he arrived in the cittie of Athens, the eight daye of the moneth of June, which then they called Cronius. He found the comon wealth turmoyled with seditions, factions, and divisions, and perticularly the house of Ægeus in very ill termes also, bicause that Medea (being banished out of the cittie of Corinthe) was come to dwell in Athens, and remained with Ægeus, whom she had promised by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children. But when she heard tell that Theseus was comen, before that the good king Ægeus (who was nowe becomen olde, suspitious, and affrayed of sedition, by reason of the great factions within the cittie at that time) knewe what he was, she perswaded him to poyson him at a feaste which they woulde make him as a straunger that passed by. Theseus failed not to goe to this prepared feaste whereunto he was bydden, but yet thought it not good to disclose him selfe. And the rather to geve Ægeus occasion and meane to knowe him: when they brought the meate to the borde, he drewe out his sworde, as though he woulde have cut with all, and shewed it unto him. Ægeus seeing it, knewe it straight, and forthwith overthrewe the cuppe with poyson which was prepared for him: and after he had inquired of him, and asked thinges, he embraced him as his sonne. Afterwardes in the common assembly of the inhabitants of the cittie, he declared, howe he avowed him for his sonne. Then all the people receyved him with exceeding joye, for the renowne of his valiantnes and manhoode. And some saye, that when Ægeus overthrewe the cuppe, the poyson which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this present a certen compasse inclosed all about within the temple, which is called Delphinium. For even there in that place, in the olde time, stoode the house of Ægeus: in witnes whereof, they call yet at this present time the image of Mercurye (which is on the side of the temple looking towardes the rising of the sunne) the Mercurye gate of Ægeus. But the Pallantides, which before stoode allwayes in hope to recover the realme of Athens, at the least after Ægeus death, bicause he had no children: when they sawe that Theseus was knowen, and openly declared for his sonne and heir, and successour to the Realme, they were not able any lenger to beare it, seeing

Medea perswaded Ægeus to poyson Theseus.

Ægeus acknowledgeth Theseus for his sonne.

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THESEUS

that not onely Ægeus (who was but the adopted sonne of Pandion, and nothing at all of the bloude royall of the Erictheides) had usurped the Kingdome over them, but that Theseus also should enjoye it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, and dividing them selves into two partes, the one came openly in armes with their father, marching directly towardes the cittie: the other laye close in ambushe in the village Gargettus, meaning to geve charge upon them in two places at one instant. Nowe they brought with them an Herauld borne in the towne of Agnus, called Leos, who bewrayed unto Theseus the secret and devise of all their enterprise. Theseus upon this intelligence went forth, and dyd set on those that laye in ambushe, and put them all to the sworde. The other which were in Pallas companie understanding thereof, dyd breake and disparse them selves incontinently. And this is the cause (as some saye) why those of Pallena doe never make affinitie nor mariadge with those of Agnus at this daye. And that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they never speake these words which are cryed every where els through out the whole countrye of Attica, *Acouete Leos*, (which is as muche to saye, as Hearken, O people) they doe so extreamely hate this worde *Leos*, for that it was the Herauldes name which wrought them that treason. This done, Theseus who woulde not live idelly at home and doe nothing, but desirous there withall to gratifie the people, went his waye to fight with the bull of Marathon, the which dyd great mischieves to the inhabitants of the countrye of Tetrapolis. And having taken him alive, brought him through the citie of Athens to be seene of all the inhabitants. Afterwardes he dyd sacrifice him unto Apollo Delphias. Nowe concerning Hecale, who was reported to have lodged him, and to have geven him good enterteinment, it is not altogether untrue. For in the olde time, those townes and villages thereaboutes dyd assemble together, and made a common sacrifice which they called Hecalesion, in the honour of Iupiter Hecalian, where they honoured this olde woman, calling her by a diminutive name, Hecalena: bicause that when she receyved Theseus into her house, being then but

The Pallantides take armes against Ægeus and Theseus.

Leos an Herauld bewrayeth their treason to Theseus.

Theseus killeth the Pallantides.

The bull of Marathon taken alive by Theseus.

Apollo Delphias.

Iupiter Hecalian.

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very younge, she made muche of him, and called him by many prety made names, as olde folkes are wont to call younge children. And forasmuche as she had made a vowe to Iupiter to make him a solemne sacrifice, if Theseus returned safe from the enterprise he went about, and that she dyed before his returne: in recompence of the good chere she had made him, she had that honour done unto her by Theseus commaundement, as Philochorus hathe written of it. Shortely after this exployte, there came certaine of King Minos ambassadours out of Creta, to aske tribute, being nowe the thirde time it was demaunded, which the Athenians payed for this cause. Androgeus, the eldest sonne of king Minos, was slayne by treason within the countrye of Attica: for which cause Minos pursuing the revenge of his death, made very whotte and sharpe warres upon the Athenians, and dyd them greate hurte. But besides all this, the goddes dyd sharpely punishe and scourge all the countrye, aswell with barrennes and famine, as also with plague and other mischieves, even to the drying up of their rivers. The Athenians perceyving these sore troubles and plagues, ranne to the oracle of Apollo, who aunswered them that they shoulde appease Minos: and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrathe of the goddes woulde cease against them, and their troubles should have an ende. Whereupon the Athenians sent immediately unto him, and intreated him for peace: which he graunted them, with condition that they should be bounde to sende him yerely into Creta, seven younge boyes, and as many younge gyrles. Nowe thus farre, all the Historiographers doe very well agree: but in the reste not. And they which seeme furdest of from the trothe, doe declare, that when these yonge boyes were delivered in Creta, they caused them to be devowred by the Minotaure within the Laberinthe: or els that they were shut within this Laberinthe, wandring up and downe, and coulde finde no place to gett out, untill suche time as they dyed, even famished for hunger. And this Minotaure, as Euripides the Poet sayeth, was

The Athenians payed tribute to Minos king of Creta, for the death of Androgeus his sonne.

The manner of the tribute conditioned.

The Minotaure what it was.

A corps combynd, which monstrous might be deemd:
A Boye, a Bull, both man and beast it seemd.

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The Laberinthe a prison in Creta.

But Philochorus writeth, that the Cretans doe not confesse that, but saye that this Laberinthe was a gayle or prisone, in the which they had no other hurte, saving that they which were kept there under locke and keye, coulde not flye nor starte awaye: and that Minos had, in the memorye of his sonne Androgeus, instituted games and playes of prise, where he gave unto them that wanne the victorie, those younge children of Athens, the which in the meane time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked unto in the prisone of the Laberinthe: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines called Taurus, who was in best creditt with his master, wanne the prise. This Taurus was a churlishe, and naughtie natured man of condition, and very harde and cruell to these children of Athens. And to verifie the same, the philosopher Aristotle him selfe, speaking of the common wealth of the Bottieians, declareth very well, that he never thought that Minos dyd at any time cause the children of Athens to be put to death: but sayeth, that they poorely toyled in Creta even to crooked age, earning their living by true and painefull service. For it is written, that the Cretans (to satisfie an olde vowe of theirs which they had made of auncient time) sent somtimes the first borne of their children, unto Apollo in the cittie of Delphes: and that amongest them they also mingled those, which were descended of the auncient prisoners of Athens, and they went with them. But bicause they coulde not live there, they directed their jorney first into Italie, where for a time they remained in the realme of Puglia, and afterwardes from thence went into the confines of Thracia, where they had this name of Bottieians. In memory whereof, the daughters of the Bottieians in a solemne sacrifice they make, doe use to singe the foote of this songe: Lett us to Athens goe. But thereby we maye see howe perilous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmitie with a cittie, which can speake well, and where learning and eloquence dothe florishe. For ever sence that time, Minos was allwayes blased and disgraced through out all the Theaters of Athens. The testimonie of Hesiodus, who calleth him the most worthie King, dothe nothing

Taurus one of Minoes captaines.

Of the Bottieians. *Plin.* lib. 4. cap. 2.

King Minos defaced by the Poets in the theaters at Athens.

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helpe him at all, nor the prayse of Homer, who nameth him Iupiters famillier friende: bicause the tragicall Poets gott the upper hande in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these. And upon their stages where all the tragedies were played, they still gave forth many ill favored wordes, and fowle speaches of him: as against a man that had bene most cruell and unnaturall. Yet most men thincke, that Minos was the King which established the lawes: and Radamanthus the judge and preserver of them, who caused the same also to be kept and observed. The time nowe being comen about for payment of the thirde tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet maried, to geve them to be put forth to take their chaunce and lotte: the citizens of Athens beganne to murmure against Ægeus, alledging for their grieves, that he who onely was the cause of all this evill, was onely alone exempted from this griefe. And that to bring the government of the Realme, to fall into the handes of a straunger his bastard: he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were unnaturally compelled to leave and forsake them. These just sorrowes and complaintes of the fathers, whose children were taken from them, dyd pearce the harte of Theseus, who willing to yelde to reason, and to ronne the selfe same fortune as the cittizens dyd: willingly offered him selfe to be sent thither, without regarde taking to his happe or adventure. For which, the cittizens greatly esteemed of his corage and honorable disposition, and dearely loved him for the good affection, he seemed to beare unto the comunaltye. But Ægeus having used many reasons and perswasions, to cause him to turne, and staye from his purpose, and perceyving in the ende there was no remedye but he woulde goe: he then drue lottes for the children which should goe with him. Hellanicus notwithstanding dothe write, that they were not those of the cittie which drewe lottes for the children they should sende, but that Minos him selfe went thither in persone and dyd chuse them, as he chose Theseus the first, upon conditions agreed betwene them: that is to wit, that the Athenians shoulde furnishe them with a shippe, and that the children should shippe and

Radamanthus.

The thirde time of payment of the tribute.

The Athenians are grieved to depart with their children.

Theseus offereth to goe with the children into Creta.

Lotts drawen for the children that should goe.

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THESEUS imbarke with him, carying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the Minotaure, this tribute should cease. Nowe before that time, there was never any hope of returne, nor of safetie of their children: therefore the Athenians allwayes sent a shippe to convey their children with a blacke sayle, in token of assured losse. Nevertheles Theseus putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good corage, and promising boldly that he woulde sett upon this Minotaure: Ægeus gave unto the master of the shippe a white sayle, commaunding him that at his returne he should put out the white sayle if his sonne had escaped, if not, that then he should sett up the blacke sayle, to shewe him a farre of his unlucky and unfortunate chaunce. Simonides notwithstanding doeth saye, that this sayle which Ægeus gave to the master, was not white, but redde, dyed in graine, and of the culler of scarlett: and that he gave it him to signifie a farre of, their deliverie and safety. This master was called Phereclus Amarsiadas, as Simonides sayeth. But Philochorus writeth, that Scirus the Salaminian gave to Theseus a master called Nausitheus, and another marriner to tackle the sayles, who was called Phæas: bicause the Athenians at that time were not greatly practised to the sea. And this did Scirus, for that one of the children on whom the lott fell was his nephewe: and thus muche the chappells doe testifie, which Theseus buylt afterwardes in honour of Nausitheus, and of Phæas, in the village of Phalerus, joyning to the temple of Scirus. And it is sayed moreover, that the feaste which they call Cybernesia, that is to saye, the feaste of Patrons of the shippes, is celebrated in honour of them. Nowe after the lotts were drawen, Theseus taking with him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called Delphinion, to offer up to Apollo for him and for them, an offering of supplication which they call Hiceteria: which was an olyve boughe hallowed, wreathed about with white wolle. After he had made his prayer, he went downe to the sea side to imbarke, the sixt daye of the moneth of Marche: on which daye at this present time they doe sende their younge girles to the same temple of Delphinion, there to make their prayers and petitions to the

The Athenians sent their children into Creta in a shippe with a blacke sayle.

Ægeus geveth the master of the shippe a white sayle, to signifie the safe returne of Theseus.

Cybernesia games.

Hiceteria offering.

Theseus taketh shippe with the tribute children, the sixt of Marche, and sayleth into Creta.

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goddes. But some saye, that the oracle of Apollo in the cittie of Delphes had aunswered him, that he should take Venus for his guyde, and that he should call upon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he dyd sacrifice a goate unto her upon the sea side, which was founde sodainly turned into a ramme, and that herefore they surnamed this goddesse Epitragia, as one would saye, the goddesse of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arrived in Creta, he slewe there the Minotaure (as the most parte of auncient authors doe write) by the meanes and helpe of Ariadne: who being fallen in fansie with him, dyd geve him a clue of threede, by the helpe whereof she taught him, howe he might easely winde out of the turnings and cranckes of the Labyrinthe. And they saye, that having killed this Minotaure, he returned backe againe the same waye he went, bringing with him those other younge children of Athens, whom with Ariadne also he caried afterwardes awaye. Pherecides sayeth moreover, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the shippes of Creta, bicause they should not sodainely sett out after them. And Demon writeth, that Taurus (the captaine of Minos) was killed in a fight by Theseus, even in the very haven mowthe as they were readye to shippe awaye, and hoyse up sayle. Yet Philochorus reporteth, that king Minos having sett up the games, as he was wont to doe yerely in the honour and memorye of his sonne, every one beganne to envye captaine Taurus, bicause they ever looked that he should carye awaye the game and victorie, as he had done other yeres before: over and that, his authoritye got him much ill will and envye, bicause he was proude and stately, and had in suspition that he was great with Queene Pasiphäe. Wherefore when Theseus required he might encounter with Taurus, Minos easely graunted it. And being a solemne custome in Creta that the women shoulde be present, to see these open sportes and sights, Ariadne being at these games amongest the rest, fell further in love with Theseus, seeing him so goodly a persone, so stronge, and invincible in wrestling, that he farre exceeded all that wrestled there that daye. King Minos was so glad that he had taken awaye the honour from captaine Taurus, that he sent him home francke

Venus Epitragia.

Theseus slewe the Minotaure by meanes of Ariadne, king Minoes daughter.

Theseus returne out of Creta.

Taurus overcome of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus suspected with Pasiphäe, king Minoes wife.

How Ariadne fell in love with Theseus.

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THESEUS and free into his countrye, rendring to him all the other prisoners of Athens: and for his sake, clearely released and forgave the cittie of Athens the tribute, which they should have payed him yerely. Howbeit Clidemus searching out the beginning of these things to thutmost, reciteth them very particularly, and after another sorte. For he sayeth, about that time there was a generall restraint through out all Grece, restrayning all manner of people to beare sayle in any vessell or bottome, wherein there were above five persones, except only Iason, who was chosen captaine of the great shippe Argus, and had commission to sayle every where, to chase and drive awaye rovers and pyrates, and to scoure the seas through out. About this time, Dædalus being fled from Creta to Athens in a litle barke: Minos contrarie to this restraint, woulde needes followe him with a fleete of divers vessels with owers, who being by force of weather driven to the coaste of Sicile, fortuned to dye there. Afterwardes his sonne Deucalion, being marveilously offended with the Athenians, sent to summone them to deliver Dædalus unto him, or els he woulde put the children to death, which were delivered to his father for hostages. But Theseus excused him selfe, and sayed he coulde not forsake Dædalus, considering he was his neere kynseman, being his cosin germaine, for he was the sonne of Merope, the daughter of Erichtheus. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, parte of them within Attica selfe in the village of Thymetades, farre from any highe wayes: and parte of them in the cittie of Trœzen, by the sufferance of Pitheus his grandfather, to the ende his purpose shoulde be kept the secretlyer. Afterwardes when all his shippes were readye, and rygged out, he tooke sea before the Cretans had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they sawe them a farre of, they dyd take them for the barkes of their friends. Theseus landed without resistaunce, and tooke the haven. Then having Dædalus, and other banished Cretans for guydes, he entred the cittie selfe of Gnosus, where he slewe Deucalion in a fight before the gates of the Labyrinthe, with all his garde and officers about him. By this meanes the kingdome of Creta fell by inheritance into the handes of his sister

Minos sendeth Theseus home with his prisoners, and releaseth the Athenians of their tribute.

A marine lawe.

Dædalus flight.

King Minos dyed in Sicile.

Deucalion king Minoes sonne sent to Athens to demaunde Dædalus.

Theseus sayled into Creta, and wanne the cittie of Gnosus, and slewe Deucalion.

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Ariadne. Theseus made league with her, and caryed away the yong children of Athens, which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amytie betweene the Athenians and the Cretans: who promised, and sware, they woulde never make warres against them. They reporte many other things also touching this matter, and specially of Ariadne: but there is no trothe nor certeintie in it. For some saye, that Ariadne honge her selfe for sorowe, when she sawe that Theseus had caste her of. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the Ile of Naxos, where she was maryed unto Œnarus, the priest of Bacchus: and they thincke that Theseus lefte her, bicause he was in love with another, as by these verses shoulde appeare.

Divers opinions of Ariadne.

> Ægles the Nymphe, was loved of Theseus,
> which was the daughter of Panopeus.

Hereas the Megarian sayeth, that these two verses in olde time were among the verses of the Poet Hesiodus, howbeit Pisistratus tooke them awaye: as he dyd in like manner adde these other here in the description of the helles in Homer, to gratifie the Athenians.

> Bolde Theseus, and Pirithous stowte,
> descended both, from godds immortall race,
> Triumphing still, this wearie worlde aboute
> in feats of armes, and many a comly grace.

Other holde opinion, that Ariadne had two children by Theseus: the one of them was named Œnopion, and the other Staphylus. Thus amongest others the Poet Ion writeth it, who was borne in the Ile of Chio, and speaking of his cittie, he sayeth thus:

Œnopion, and Staphylus Theseus sonnes.

> Œnopion which was the sonne, of worthy Theseus
> did cause men buylde, this stately towne which
> nowe triumpheth thus.

Nowe what things are founde seemely in Poets fables, there is none but dothe in manner synge them. But one Paenon borne in the cittie of Amathunta, reciteth this cleane after another sorte, and contrarie to all other: saying, that Theseus by tempest was driven with the Ile of Cyprus,

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THESEUS having with him Ariadne, which was great with childe, and so sore sea sycke, that she was not able to abide it. In so muche as he was forced to put her a lande, and him selfe afterwards returning abourde hoping to save his shippe against the storme, was forthwith compelled to loofe into the sea. The women of the countrye dyd curteously receyve and intreate Ariadne: and to comforte her againe, (for she was marveilously oute of harte, to see she was thus forsaken) they counterfeated letters, as if Theseus had wrytten them to her. And when her groninge time was come, and she to be layed, they did their best by all possible meanes to save her: but she dyed notwithstanding in labour, and could never be delivered. So she was honorably buried by the Ladies of Cyprus. Theseus not long after returned thither againe, who tooke her death marvelous heavily, and left money with the inhabitantes of the countrie, to sacrifice unto her yearely: and for memorie of her, he caused two litle images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of silver, which he dedicated unto her. This sacrifice is done the seconde day of September, on which they doe yet observe this ceremonie: they doe lay a young childe upon a bed, which pitiefully cryeth and lamenteth, as women travellinge with childe. They saye also, that the Amathusians doe yet call the grove where her tombe is sette up, the wodde of Venus Ariadne. And yet there are of the Naxians, that reporte this otherwise: saying, there were two Minoes, and two Ariadnees, whereof the one was maried to Bacchus in the Ile of Naxos, of whome Staphylus was borne: and the other the youngest, was ravished and caried away by Theseus, who afterwardes forsooke her, and she came into the Ile of Naxos with her nurce, called Corcyna, whose grave they doe shewe yet to this day. This seconde Ariadne dyed there also, but she had no such honour done to her after her death, as to the first was geven. For they celebrate the feaste of the first with all joye and mirthe: where the sacrifices done in memorie of the seconde, be mingled with mourninge and sorowe. Theseus then departing from the Ile of Creta, arrived in the Ile of Delos, where he did sacrifice in the temple of Apollo, and gave there a litle image of

Theseus leaveth Ariadne in Cyprus.

Ariadne dieth with childe in Cyprus.

The ceremonie of the sacrifice done to Ariadne in Cyprus.

Venus Ariadne.

Two Minoes and two Ariadnees.

Corcyna Ariadnes nurce.

Theseus returneth out of Creta into the Ile of Delos.

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Venus, the which he had gotten of Ariadne. Then with the other young boyes that he had delivered, he daunced a kinde of daunce, which the Delians keepe to this day, as they say: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turninges of the Labyrinthe. And the Delians call this manner of daunce, the crane, as Dicæarcus sayeth. And Theseus daunced it first about the altar, which is called Ceraton, that is to saye, hornestaffe: bicause it is made and builded of hornes onely, all on the left hande well and curiously sette together without any other bindinge. It is sayed also that he made a game in this Ile of Delos, in which at the first was geven to him that overcame, a braunche of palme for reward of victorie. But when they drewe neere the coast of Attica, they were so joyfull, he and his master, that they forgate to set up their white sayle, by which they shoulde have geven knowledge of their healthe and safetie to Ægeus. Who seeinge the blacke sayle a farre of, being out of all hope evermore to see his sonne againe, tooke such a griefe at his harte, that he threw him selfe headlong from the top of a clyffe, and killed him selfe. So soone as Theseus was arrived at the porte named Phalerus, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the goddes at his departure: and sent an Herauld of his before unto the city, to carie newes of his safe arrivall. The Heraulde founde many of the citie mourning the death of king Ægeus. Many other received him with great joy, as may be supposed. They would have crowned him also with a garlande of flowers, for that he had brought so good tidinges, that the children of the citie were returned in safetie. The Heraulde was content to take the garlande, yet would he not in any wise put it on his head, but did winde it about his Heraulds rodde he bare in his hande, and so returneth foorthwith to the sea, where Theseus made his sacrifices. Who perceivinge they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and stayed without for troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwardes all ceremonies finished, he went in and tolde him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for sorowe, hasted with speede towardes the citie. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called

Theseus daunce called the Crane.

Palme a token of victory.

Theseus master of his shippe forgate to set out the white sayle.

Ægeus death.

Theseus arriveth safe with the tribute children in the haven of Phalerus.

The Herauld bare a rodde in his hand.

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THESEUS

The feast Oscophoria.

Oscophoria (as who woulde say at the feast of boughes) the Herauld hath not his heade but his rod onely crowned with flowers, and why the assistantes also after the sacrifice done, doe make suche cryes and exclamations: *Ele*, *leuf*, *iou*, *iou*: whereof the first is the crye and voyce they commonly use one to an other to make haste, or else it is the foote of some songe of triumphe: and the other is the crye and voyce of men as it were in feare and trouble. After he had ended the obsequies and funeralls for his father, he performed also his sacrifices unto Apollo, which he had vowed the seventh day of the moneth of October, on which they arrived at their returne into the citie of Athens. Even so the custome which they use at this day, to seeth all manner of pulse, commeth of this: that those which then returned with Theseus, did seeth in a great brasse potte all the remaine of their provision, and therewith made good chere together. Even in such sorte as this, came up the custome to carie a braunch of olyve, wreathed about with wolle, which they call Iresione: bicause at that time they caried boughes of supplication, as we have told ye before. About which they hang all sortes of fruites: for then barrennesse did cease, as the verses they sang afterwards did witnesse.

October called Pyanepsion, in the Attican tongue.

Herod. of Iresione in the life of Homer, and Suidas.

> Bring him good bread, that is of savry tast,
> with pleasaunt figges, and droppes of dulcet mell,
> Then sowple oyle, his body for to bast,
> and pure good wine, to make him sleepe full well.

Howbeit there are some which will say, that these verses were made for the Heraclides, that is to say, those that descended from Hercules: which flying for their safety and succour unto the Athenians, were entertained and much made of by them for a time. But the most parte holde opinion, they were made upon the occasion aforesaid. The vessell in which Theseus went and returned, was a galliot of thirtie owers, which the Athenians kept untill the time of Demetrius the Phalerian, alwayes taking away the olde peeces of wodde that were rotten, and ever renewing them with new in their places. So that ever since, in the disputations of the Philosophers, touching things that increase, to

Theseus went into Creta with the tributechildren, in the galliot of 30. owers.

Disputation about increase.

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wit, whether they remaine alwayes one, or else they be made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for an example of doubt. For some mainteined, that it was still one vessell: others to the contrarie defended it was not so. And they holde opinion also, that the feast of boughes which is celebrated at Athens at this time, was then first of all instituted by Theseus. It is sayed moreover, that he did not carye all the wenches upon whome the lotts did fall, but chose two fayer young boyes, whose faces were swete and delicate as maydens be, that otherwise were hardie, and quicke sprighted. But he made them so oft bathe them selves in whotte bathes, and kepe them in from the heate of the sunne, and so many times to washe, anointe, and rubbe them selves with oyles which serve to supple and smoothe their skinnes, to keepe freshe and fayer their colour, to make yellowe and bright their heares: and withall did teache them so to counterfeate their speache, countenaunce and facion of young maydes, that they seemed to be like them, rather then young boyes. For there was no manner of difference to be perceived outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a procession, in which both he and the other young boyes, were apparelled then as they be nowe, which carie boughes on the day of the feast in their handes. They carie them in the honor of Bacchus and Ariadne, following the fable that is tolde of them: or rather bicause they returned home just, at the time and season, when they gather the fruite of those trees. There are women which they call Deipnophores, that is to say, supper caryers, which are assistantes to the sacrifice done that day, in representing the mothers of those, upon whom the lottes did fall, bicause they in like sorte brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children, to comforte and encorage them. All these particularities were written by Demon the historiographer. There was moreover a place chosen out to build him a temple in, and he him selfe ordained, that those houses which had payed tribute before unto the king of Creta, should nowe yearely thenceforth become contributories towardes the

The galliot alleaged for a doubt.

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THESEUS

Theseus thankefullnes to the Phytalides who were the first that feasted him in their houses.

Theseus brought the inhabitants of the contrie of Attica into one city.

charges of a solemne sacrifice, which shoulde be done in the honor of him: and he did assigne the order and administration of the same, unto the house of the Phytalides, in recompence of the curtesie which they showed him when he arrived. Furthermore, after the death of his father Ægeus, he undertooke a marvelous great enterprise. For he brought all the inhabitantes of the whole province of Attica, to be within the citie of Athens, and made them all one corporation, which were before dispersed into diverse villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the common state. Many times also they were at variance together, and by the eares, making warres one upon an other. But Theseus tooke the paines to goe from village to village, and from family, to familie, to let them understand the reasons why they should consent unto it. So he found the poore people and private men, ready to obey and followe his will: but the riche, and such as had authoritye in every village, all against it. Nevertheles he wanne them, promising that it should be a common wealth, and not subject to the power of any sole prince, but rather a populer state. In which he woulde only reserve to him selfe the charge of the warres, and the preservation of the lawes: for the rest, he was content that every citizen in all and for all should beare a like swaye and authoritye. So there were some that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, velded notwithstanding for feare of his displeasure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to consent with good will, unto that he required: then to tary his forcible compulsion. Then he caused all the places where justice was ministred, and all their halles of assembly to be overthrowen and pulled downe. He removed straight all judges and officers, and built a towne house, and a counsaill hall, in the place where the cittie now standeth, which the Athenians call Asty, but he called the whole corporation of them, Athens. Afterwardes he instituted the greate feast and common sacrifice for all of the countrye of Attica, which they call Panathenæa. Then he ordeined another feaste also upon the sixtenth daye of the moneth of June, for all strangers

Asty, the towne house of the Athenians.

The feastes Panathenæa, and Metœcia.

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which should come to dwell in Athens, which is called Metœcia and is kept even to this daye. That done, he gave over his regall power according to his promise, and beganne to sett up an estate or policye of a common wealth, beginning first with the service of the goddes. To knowe the good successe of his enterprise, he sent at the very beginning to the oracle of Apollo in Delphes, to enquire of the fortune of this cittye: from whence this aunswer was brought unto him:

Theseus resigneth his kingdome, and maketh Athens a common wealth.

O thou which arte, the sonne of Ægeus,
begott by him, on Pitheus daughter deare.
The mightie Iove, my father glorious,
by his decree, hath sayed there shall appeare,
a fatall ende, of every cittie here.
Which ende he will, shall also come adowne,
within the walles, of this thy stately towne.

Therefore shewe thou, a valliant constant minde,
and let no care, nor carke thy harte displease.
For like unto a bladder blowen with winde
thou shalt be tost, upon the surging seas.
Yet lett no dynte, of dolours the disease.
For why? thou shalt, nor perishe nor decaye,
nor be orecome, nor yet be cast awaye.

The oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

It is founde written also that Sibylla afterwardes gave out such a like oracle over the cittye of Athens.

The bladder blowen maye flete upon the fludde,
but cannot synke, nor sticke in filthie mudde.

Moreover, bicause he woulde further yet augment his people, and enlarge his cittie, he entised many to come and dwell there, by offering them the selfe same freedome and priviledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many judge, that these wordes which are in use at this daye in Athens, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Come ye hither: be the selfe same which Theseus then caused to be proclaymed, when he in that sorte dyd gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he suffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without distinction of degrees and orders. For he first divided the noble men, from husbandmen and artificers,

Theseus maketh difference of states and degrees in his common weale.

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THESEUS

appointing the noblemen as judges and magistrates to judge upon matters of Religion, and touching the service of the godds: and of them also he dyd chuse rulers, to beare civill office in the common weale, to determine the lawe, and to tell all holy and divine things. By this meanes he made the noble men and the two other estates equall in voyce. And as the noblemen dyd passe the other in honour: even so the artificers exceeded them in number, and the husbandmen them in profit. Nowe that Theseus was the first who of all others yelded to have a common weale or populer estate (as Aristotle sayeth) and dyd geve over his regall power: Homer self semeth to testifie it, in numbring the shippes which were in the Græcians armie before the cittie of Troia. For amongest all the Græcians, he only calleth the Athenians people. Moreover Theseus coyned money, which he marked with the stampe of an oxe, in memorye of the bulle of Marathon, or of Taurus the captaine of Minos, or els to provoke his citizens to geve them selves to labour. They saye also that of this money they were since called Hecatombœon, and Decabœon, which signifieth worth a hundred oxen, and worth tenne oxen. Furthermore having joined all the territorie of the cittie of Megara, unto the countrie of Attica, he caused that notable foure square piller to be sett up for their confines within the straight of Peloponnesus, and engraved thereuppon this superscription, that declareth the separation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this.

Theseus the first that gave over regall power, and framed a populer state.

An oxe stamped in Theseus coyne.

Hecatombœon, Decabœon.

> Where Titan doth beginne, his beames for to displaye
> even that waye stands Ionia, in fertile wise allwaye:
> And where againe he goeth, a downe to take his rest,
> there stands Peloponnesus lande, for there I compt it west.

It was he also which made the games called Isthmia, after the imitation of Hercules, to the ende that as the Grecians dyd celebrate the feast of games called Olympia, in the honour of Iupiter, by Hercules ordinance: so, that they should also celebrate the games called Isthmia, by his order and institution, in the honour of Neptune. For those that were done in the straights in the honour of Melicerta, were

Olympia.

Theseus erected the games Isthmia, in the honour of Neptune.

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done in the night, and had rather forme of sacrifice or of a mysterie, then of games and open feast. Yet some will saye, that these games of Isthmia were instituted in the honour and memorie of Sciron, and that Theseus ordained them in satisfaction of his death: bicause he was his cosin germaine, being the sonne of Canethus, and of Heniocha the daughter of Pitheus. Other saye that it was Sinnis and not Sciron, and that for him Theseus made these games, and not for the memorie of the other. Howsoever it was, he specially willed the Corinthians, that they should geve unto those that came from Athens to see their games of Isthmia, so much place to sit downe before them (in the most honorable parte of the feast place) as the saile of their shippe should cover, in the which they came from Athens: thus doe Hellanicus and Andron Halicarnasseus write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the sea Major, Philochorus, and some other holde opinion, that he went thither with Hercules against the Amazones: and that to honour his valiantnes, Hercules gave him Antiopa the Amazone. But the more parte of the other Historiographers, namely Hellanicus, Pherecides, and Herodotus, doe write, that Theseus went thither alone, after Hercules voyage, and that he tooke this Amazone prisoner, which is likeliest to be true. For we doe not finde that any other who went this jorney with him, had taken any Amazone prisoner besides him selfe. Bion also the Historiographer, this notwithstanding sayeth, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the Amazones (sayeth he) naturally loving men, dyd not flie at all when they sawe them lande in their countrye, but sente them presents, and that Theseus entised her to come into his shippe, who brought him a present: and so sone as she was aborde, he hoysed his sayle, and so caried her away. Another Historiographer Menecrates, who wrote the historie of the cittie of Nicea, in the countrye of Bythinia, sayeth: that Theseus having this Amazone Antiopa with him, remained a certaine time upon those coasts, and amongest other he had in his companie three younger brethern of Athens, Euneus, Thoas, and Solois. This last, Solois, was marveilously in love with Antiopa, and never bewrayed it to any of his other com-

Theseus jornye into mare Major.

Antiopa the Amazone ravished by Theseus.

Solois fell in love with Antiopa.

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panions, saving unto one with whom he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter unto Antiopa. But she utterly rejected his sute, though otherwise she handled it wisely and curteously, and dyd not complaine to Theseus of him. Howbeit the younge man despairing to enjoye his love, tooke it so inwardly, that desperately he lept into the river, and drowned him selfe. Which when Theseus understoode, and the cause also that brought him to this desperation and ende: he was very sorye, and angrie also. Whereupon he remembred a certeine oracle of Pythia, by whom he was commaunded to buyld a cittie in that place in a straunge countrye, where he should be most sorye, and that he should leave some that were about him at that time, to governe the same. For this cause therefore he built a cittie in that place, which he named Pythopolis, bicause he had built it only by the commaundement of the Nunne Pythia. He called the river in the which the younge man was drowned, Solois, in memorye of him: and left his two brethern for his deputies and as governours of this newe cittie, with another gentleman of Athens, called Hermus. Hereof it commeth, that at this daye the Pythopolitans call a certen place of their cittie, Hermus house. But they fayle in the accent, by putting it upon the last syllable: for in pronouncing it so, Hermu signifieth Mercurie. By this meanes they doe transferre the honour due to the memorie of Hermus, unto the god Mercurie. Now heare what was the occasion of the warres of the Amazones, which me thinckes was not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprise of a woman. For they had not placed their campe within the very cittie of Athens, nor had not fought in the very place it selfe (called Pnyce) adjoyning to the temple of the Muses, if they had not first conquered or subdued all the countrye thereabouts: neither had they all comen at the first, so valiantly to assaile the cittie of Athens. Now, whether they came by lande from so farre a countrye, or that they passed over an arme of the sea, which is called Bosphorus Cimmericus, being frosen as Hellanicus sayeth: it is hardely to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very cittie it selfe, the names of

Solois drowned him selfe for love.

Pythopolis built by Theseus.

Solois fl.

The cause of the warres of the Amazones against the Athenians.

Bosphorus Cimmericus, an arme of the sea.

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the places which continewe yet to this present daye doe witnesse it, and the graves also of the women which dyed there. But so it is, that both armies laye a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length Theseus having first made sacrifice unto Feare the goddesse, according to the counsaill of a prophecie he had receyved, he gave them battell in the moneth of August, on the same daye, in the which the Athenians doe even at this present solemnise the feast, which they call Boedromia. But Clidemus the Historiographer, desirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encownter, sayeth that the left poynte of their battell bent towards the place which they call Amazonion: and that the right poynte marched by the side of Chrysa, even to the place which is called Pnyce, upon which, the Athenians comming towards the temple of the Muses, did first geve their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graves of the women which dyed in this first encounter, are founde yet in the great streete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neere unto the chappell of the litle god Chalcodus. And the Athenians (sayeth he) were in this place repulsed by the Amazones, even to the place where the images of Eumenides are, that is to saye, of the furies. But on thother side also, the Athenians comming towards the quarters of Palladium, Ardettus, and Lucium, drave backe their right poynte even to within their campe, and slewe a great number of them. Afterwards, at the ende of foure moneths, peace was taken betwene them by meanes of one of the women called Hyppolita. For this Historiographer calleth the Amazone which Theseus maried, Hyppolita, and not Antiopa. Nevertheles, some saye that she was slayne (fighting on Theseus side) with a darte, by another called Molpadia. In memorie whereof, the piller which is joyning to the temple of the Olympian ground, was set up in her honour. We are not to marvell, if the historie of things so auncient, be founde so diversely written. For there are also that write, that Queene Antiopa sent those secretly which were hurte then into the cittie of Calcide, where some of them recovered, and were healed: and others also dyed, which were buried neere to the place called Amazonion.

Theseus fighteth a battell with the Amazones.

The order of the Amazones battell.

Peace concluded at foure moneths ende by meanes of Hypolita.

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THESEUS

Orcomosion, the name of a place.

Auncient tombes of losenge facion.

Thermodon, nowe called Hæmon fl.

Hippolytus Theseussonne by Antiopa.

Phædra Theseus wife, and Minos daughter king of Creta.

Theseus mariages.

Howsoever it was, it is most certain that this warre was ended by agreement. For a place adjoyning to the temple of Theseus, dothe beare recorde of it, being called Orcomosium: bicause the peace was there by solemne othe concluded. And the sacrifice also dothe truely verifie it, which they have made to the Amazones, before the feast of Theseus, long time out of minde. They of Megara also doe shewe a tumbe of the Amazones in their cittie, which is as they goe from the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they finde an auncient tumbe, cut in facion and forme of a losenge. They saye that there died other of the Amazones also, neere unto the cittie of Chæronea, which were buried all alongest the litle broke passing by the same, which in the olde time, (in mine opinion) was called Thermodon, and is nowe named Hæmon, as we have in other places written in the life of Demosthenes. And it semeth also, that they dyd not passe through Thessalie, without fighting: for there are seene yet of their tumbes all about the cittie of Scotusa, hard by the rocks, which be called the doggs head. And this is that which is worthy memorie (in mine opinion) touching the warres of these Amazones. How the Poet telleth that the Amazones made warres with Theseus to revenge the injurie he dyd to their Queene Antiopa, refusing her, to marye with Phædra: and as for the murder which he telleth that Hercules dyd, that me thinckes is altogether but devise of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of Antiopa, Theseus maried Phædra, having had before of Antiopa a sonne called Hippolytus, or as the Poet Pindarus writeth, Demophon. And for that the Historiographers doe not in any thing speake against the tragicall Poets, in that which concerneth the ill happe that chaunced to him, in the persons of this his wife and of his sonne: we must needes take it to be so, as we finde it written in the tragedies. And yet we finde many other reportes touching the mariages of Theseus, whose beginnings had no great good honest ground, neither fell out their endes very fortunate: and yet for all that they have made no tragedies of them, neither have they bene played in the Theaters. For we reade that he tooke away Anaxo the Trœzenian, and that after he had killed

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Simnis and Cercyon, he tooke their daughters perforce: and that he dyd also marye Peribæa, the mother of Ajax, and afterwards Pherebæa, and Ioppa the daughter of Iphicles. And they blame him much also, for that he so lightly forsooke his wife Ariadne, for the love of Ægles the daughter of Panopæus, as we have recited before. Lastely, he tooke awaye Hellen: which ravishement filled all the Realme of Attica with warres, and finally was the very occasion that forced him to forsake his countrye, and brought him at the length to his ende, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of Grece had done many goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet Herodotus is of opinion, that Theseus was never in any one of them: saving that he was at the battell of the Lapithæ against the Centauri. Others saye to the contrarie, that he was at the jorney of Cholchide with Iason, and that he dyd helpe Meleager to kill the wilde bore of Calydonia: from whence (as they saye) this proverbe came: 'Not without Theseus.' Meaning that suche a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certaine that Theseus self dyd many actes, without ayde of any man, and that for his valiantnes this proverbe came in use, which is spoken: 'This is another 'Theseus.' Also he dyd helpe Adrastus king of the Argives, to recover the bodyes of those that were slayne in the battell, before the cittie of Thebes. Howbeit it was not, as the poet Euripides sayeth, by force of armes, after he had overcome the Thebans in battell: but it was by composition. And thus the greatest number of the most auncient writers doe declare it. Furthermore, Philochorus writeth, that this was the first treatie that ever was made to recover the dead bodyes slayne in battell: nevertheles we doe reade in the histories and gestes of Hercules, that he was the first that ever suffered his enemies to carye awaye their dead bodyes, after they had bene put to the sword. But whosoever he was, at this daye in the village of Eleutheres, they doe showe the place where the people were buried, and where princes tumbes are seene about the cittie of Eleusin, which he made at the request of Adrastus. And for testimonie hereof, the tragedie Æschilus made of the Eleusinians, where he causeth

Theseus battels.

Proverbe. 'Not without Theseus.'

Proverbe. 'This is another Theseus.'

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it to be spoken even thus to Theseus himself, dothe clerely overthrowe the petitioners in Euripides. Touching the friendshippe betwixt Pirithous and him, it is sayed it beganne thus. The renowne of his valliancy was marvelously blowen abroade through all Grece, and Pirithous desirous to knowe it by experience, went even of purpose to invade his countrye, and brought awaye a certaine bootie of oxen of his taken out of the countrye of Marathon. Theseus being advertised therof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. Pirithous hearing of his comming, fled not at all, but returned backe sodainly to mete him. And so sone as they came to see one another, they both wondred at eche others beawtie and corage, and so had they no desire to fight. But Pirithous reaching out his hande first to Theseus, sayed unto him. I make your selfe judge of the damage you have susteined by my invasion, and with all my harte I will make suche satisfaction, as it shall please you to assesse it at. Theseus then dyd not only release him, of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were presently sworne brethren in the fielde: after which othe betwixt them, Pirithous maried Deidamia, and sent to praye Theseus to come to his mariage, to visite his countrye, and to make merye with the Lapithæ. He had bidden also the Centauri to the feast: who being druncke, committed many lewde partes, even to the forcing of women. Howbeit the Lapithæ chasticed them so well, that they slewe some of them presently in the place, and drave the rest afterwards out of all the countrye by the helpe of Theseus, who armed him selfe, and fought on their side. Yet Herodotus writeth the matter somewhat contrarie, saying that Theseus went not at all untill the warre was well begonne: and that it was the first time that he sawe Hercules, and spake with him neere unto the cittie of Trachina, when he was then quiet, having ended all his farre voyages, and greatest troubles. They reporte that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnes, and honorable entertainement betwene them, and howe great curtesie was offred to eache other. Nevertheles me thincks we should geve better credit to those

Theseus valliantnes the cause of Pirithous friendshippe with him.

Pirithous and Theseus sworne brethern in the field.

Pirithous maried Deidamia.

The Lapithæ overcomen the Centauri.

Theseus and Hercules met at Trachina.

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writers that saye they mett many times together, and that Hercules was accepted and receyved into the brotherhed of the mysteries of Eleusin, by the meanes of the countenaunce and favour which Theseus showed unto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessitie of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the companie of those holy mysteries. THESEUS

Furthermore, Theseus was fiftie yeres olde when he tooke awaye Hellen and ravished her, which was very younge, and not of age to be maried, as Hellanicus sayeth. By reason whereof, some seeking to hyde the ravishement of her as a haynous facte, doe reporte it was not he, but one Idas and Lynceus that caryed her awaye, who left her in his custodie and keeping: and that Theseus would have kept her from them, and would not have delivered her to her brethern Castor and Pollux, which afterwardes dyd demaunde her againe of him. Others againe saye it was her owne father Tyndarus, who gave her him to keepe, for that he was affrayed of Enarsphorus the sonne of Hippocoon, who would have had her away by force. But that which commeth nearest to the trothe in this case, and which in deede by many authors is testified, was in this sorte. Theseus and Pirithous went together to the cittie of Lacedæmon, where they tooke awaye Hellen (being yet very younge) even as she was dauncing in the temple of Diana surnamed Orthia: and they fled for life. They of Lacedæmon sent after her, but those that followed went no further then the cittie of Tegea. Now when they were escaped out of the countrye of Peloponnesus, they agreed to drawe lots together, which of them two should have her, with condition that whose lot it were to have her, he should take her to his wife, and should be bound also to helpe his companion to get him another. It was Theseus happe to light upon her, who caryed her to the cittie of Aphidnes, bicause she was yet to younge to be maried. Whether he caused his mother to come to bring her up, and gave his friend called Aphidnus the charge of them both, recommending her to his good care, and to kepe it so secretly, that no bodye should knowe what was become of her. Bicause he would doe the like for Pirithous (according to

Theseus fiftie yere olde when he ravished Hellen.

The manner of Hellens ravishement.

Diana Orthia.

Theseus lefte Hellen in the cittie of Aphidnes.

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THESEUS

Theseus went with Pirithous into Epirus, to steale Proserpina Aidoneus daughter.

th' agrement made betwext them) he went into Epirus with him to steale the daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossians, who had surnamed his wife Proserpina, his daughter Proserpina, and his dogg Cerberus: with whom he made them fight which came to aske his daughter in mariage, promising to geve her to him that should overcome his Cerberus. But the King understanding that Pirithous was come, not to request his daughter in mariage, but to steale her away, he tooke him prisoner with Theseus: and as for Pirithous, he caused him presently to be torne in peces with his dogge, and shut Theseus up in close prison. In this meane time there was one at Athens called Menestheus, the sonne of Peteus: which Peteus was the sonne of Orneus, and Orneus was the sonne of Erictheus. This Menestheus was the first that beganne to flatter the people, and did seeke to winne the favour of the communaltie, by sweete entising words: by which devise he stirred up the chiefest of the cittie against Theseus (who in deede long before beganne to be wearie of him) by declaring unto them howe Theseus had taken from them their royalties and signiories, and had shut them up in suche sorte within the walles of a cittie, that he might the better keepe them in subjection and obedience in all things, after his will. The poor inferiour sorte of people, he dyd stirre up also to rebellion, persuading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promised them: and howe contrariwise they were clearely dispossest and throwen out of their own houses, of their temples, and from their naturall places where they were borne, to thend only, that in liewe of many good and loving lordes which they were wont to have before, they should now be compelled to serve one onely hedde, and a straunge lorde. Even as Menestheus was very hotte about this practise, the warre of the Tyndarides fell out at that instant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For these Tyndarides (to wit the children of Tyndarus) Castor and Pollux, came downe with a great armie, against the cittie of Athens: and some suspect sore that Menestheus was cause of their comming thither. Howbeit at the first entrie they dyd no hurte at all in the countrye, but only demaunded restitution of their sister.

Pirithous torne in peces with Cerberus.

Theseus close prisoner.

The warre of the Tyndarides against the Athenians.

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To whom the citizens made aunswer, that they knewe not where she was left: and then the brethern beganne to make spoyle, and offer warre in deede. Howbeit there was one called Academus, who having knowledge (I can not tell by what meane) that she was secretly hidden in the cittie of Aphidnes, revealed it unto them. By reason whereof the Tyndarides did alwayes honour him very much, so long as he lived, and afterwards the Lacedæmonians, having ofte burnt and destroyed the whole countrye of Attica throughout, they would yet never touch the Academy of Athens for Academus sake. Yet Dicearchus sayeth, that in the armie of the Tyndarides there were two Arcadians, Echedemus, and Marathus, and howe of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of Echedemie, which sithence hath bene called Academia: and after the name of the other, there was a village called Marathon, bicause he willingly offered him self to be sacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order and commandement of a prophecie. So they went and pitched their campe before the cittie of Aphidnes, and having wonne the battell, and taken the cittie by assault, they raced the place. They saye that Alycus, the sonne of Sciron was slaine at this field, who was in the hoaste of the Tyndarides, and that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of Megara was called Alycus, in the which his bodye was buried. Howbeit Hereas writeth that Theseus self dyd kill him before Aphidnes: In witnes whereof he alledgeth certain verses which speake of Alycus.

Academia why so called.

Marathon.

Aphidnes wonne and raced by the Tyndarides.

Alycus Scirons sonne slayne, at the battell of Aphidnes.

> While as he sought with all his might and mayne
> (in thy defence, fayer Hellen for to fight)
> In Aphidnes, upon the pleasaunt playne,
> bold Theseus to cruell deathe him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that Theseus being there, the cittie of Aphidnes, and his mother also were taken. But when it was wonne, they of Athens beganne to quake for feare, and Menestheus counselled them to receyve the Tyndarides into the cittie, and to make them good chere, so they would make no warres but upon Theseus, which was the first that had done them the wrong and injurie: and that

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THESEUS

to all other els they should showe favour and good will. And so it fell out. For when the Tyndarides had all in their power to doe as they listed, they demaunded nothing els but that they might be received into their corporation, and not to be reckoned for straungers, no more then Hercules was: the which was graunted the Tyndarides, and Aphidnus dyd adopt them for his children, as Pylius had adopted Hercules. Moreover they dyd honour them as if they had bene godds, calling them Anaces. Either bicause they ceased the warres, or for that they ordered them selves so well, that their whole armie being lodged within the cittie, there was not any hurte or displeasure done to any persone: but as it became those that have the charge of any thing, they did carefully watche to preserve the good quiet thereof. All which this Greke word *Anacos* doth signifie, wherof perchaunce it comes that they call the kings Anactes. There are others also who holde opinion that they were called Anaces, bicause of their starres which appeared in the ayer. For the Attican tongue sayeth, *Anacas*, and *Anecathen*: where the comon people saye *Ano*, and *Anothen*, that is to saye, above. Nevertheles Æthra, Theseus mother, was caried prisoner to Lacedæmon, and from thence to Troia with Hellen, as some saye: and as Homer him self doth witnesse in his verses, where he speaketh of the women that followed Hellen.

The Tyndarides honoured as godds, and called Anaces.

Cicero de Nat. deor. lib. 3.

Kings called Anactes.

Anaces why so called.

Æthra taken prisoner, and caried to Lacedæmon.

> Æthra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Syre,
> and with her fayer Clymene she, whose eyes most men desire.

Yet there are other who aswell reject these two verses, and mainteine they are not Homers: as also they reprove all that is reported of Munychus. To wit, that Laodice being prively conceived of him by Demophon, he was brought up secretly by Æthra within Troia. But Hister the historien in his thirtenth of his histories of Attica, maketh a recitall farre contrary to other, saying: that some hold opinion, that Paris Alexander was slayne in battell by Achilles, and Patroclus in the countrye of Thessalie, neere to the river of Sperchius, and that his brother Hector tooke the cittie of Trœzen, from whence he brought awaye Æthra:

Divers opinions of Homers verses.

Sperchius fl.

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in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihodde. But Ædoneus king of the Molossians, feasting Hercules one daye as he passed through his realme, descended by chaunce into talke of Theseus and of Pirithous, howe they came to steale away his daughter secretly: and after told how they were also punished. Hercules was marveilous sorye to understand that one of them was now dead, and the other in daunger to dye, and thought with him self that to make his mone to Ædoneus, it would not helpe the matter: he besought him only that he would deliver Theseus for his sake. And he graunted him. Thus Theseus being delivered of this captivitie, returned to Athens, where his friends were not altogether kept under by his enemies: and at his returne he dyd dedicate to Hercules all the temples, which the cittie had before caused to be built in his owne honour. And where first of all they were called Thesea, he did now surname them all Herculea, excepting foure, as Philochorus writeth. Nowe when he was arrived at Athens, he would immediately have commaunded and ordered things as he was wont to doe: but he found him self troubled much with sedition, bicause those who had hated him of long time, had added also to their old canckered hate, a disdain and contempt to feare him any more. And the comon people now were become so stubborn, that where before they would have done all that they were commanded, and have spoken nothing to the contrarie: now they looked to be borne with, and flattered. Whereupon Theseus thought at the first to have used force, but he was forced by the faction and contention of his enemies to let all alone, and in the end, despairing he should ever bring his matters to passe to his desire, he secretly sent away his children into the Ile of Eubœa, to Elphenor the sonne of Chalcodus. And him self, after he had made many wishes and curses against the Athenians, in the village of Gargettus, in a place which for that cause to this daye is called Araterion: (that is to saye, the place of cursings) he did take the seas, and went into the Ile of Sciros, where he had goods, and thought also to have founde friends. Lycomedes raigned at that time, and was king of the Ile, unto whom Theseus made request for some lande, as intend-

Theseus delivered out of prison by Hercules meanes.

The Athenians disdaine to obey Theseus.

Theseus fled from Athens into the Ile of Sciros.

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THESEUS ing to dwell there: albeit some saye that he required him to give him ayde against the Athenians. Lycomedes, were it that he douted to entertaine so great a personage, or that he dyd it to gratifie Menestheus: caried him up to the high rocks, faining as though he would from thence have shewed him all his countrye round about. But when he had him there, he threw him downe hedlong from the toppe of the rocks to the bottome, and put him thus unfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of him self by an unfortunate chaunce, walking one daye after supper as he was wont to doe. There was no man at that time that dyd followe or pursue his death, but Menestheus quietly remained king of Athens: and the children of Theseus, as private souldiers followed Elphenor in the warres of Troia. But after the death of Menestheus, who died in the jorney to Troie, Theseus sonnes returned unto Athens, where they recovered their state. Sithence there were many occasions which moved the Athenians to reverence and honour him as a demy god. For in the battell of Marathon, many thought they sawe his shadow and image in armes, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the warres of the Medes (the yere wherein Phædon was governour of Athens) the nunne Pithia answered the Athenians, who had sent to the oracle of Apollo: that they should bring backe the bones of Theseus, and putting them in some honorable place, they should preserve and honour them devoutely. But it was a harde matter to finde his grave: and if they had founde it, yet had it bene a harder thing to have brought his bones awaye, for the malice of those barbarous people which inhabited that Ile: which were so wild and fierce, that none could trade or live with them. Notwithstanding Cimon having taken the Iland (as we have written in his life) and seeking his grave: perceived by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, and scraping with her clawes in a place of some prety height. Straight it came into his minde (as by divine inspiration) to searche and digge the place: where was founde the tumbe of a great bodye, with the head of a speare which was of brasse, and a sword with it. All which things were brought to Athens by Cimon in the admirall

Theseus cruelly slayne by Lycomedes.

Menestheus king of Athens.

Theseus sonnes.

Cimon taketh the Ile of Sciros and bringeth Theseus bones to Athens.

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gallie. The Athenians received them with great joye, with processions and goodly sacrifices, as if Theseus him self had bene a live, and had returned into the cittie againe. At this daye all these relicks lye yet in the middest of the cittie, neere to the place where the younge men doe use all their exercises of bodye. There is free libertie of accesse for all slaves and poore men, (that are afflicted and pursued, by any mightier then themselves) to pray and sacrifice in remembraunce of Theseus: who while he lived was protectour of the oppressed, and dyd curteously receive their requests and petitions that prayed to have ayde of him. The greatest and most solemne sacrifice they doe unto him, is on the eight daye of October, in which he returned from Creta, with the other younge children of Athens. Howbeit they doe not leave to honour him every eight daye of all other moneths, either bicause he arrived from Trœzen at Athens the eight daye of Iune, as Diodorus the Cosmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meetest for him, bicause the bruite ranne he was begotten of Neptune. They doe sacrifice also to Neptune, the eight daye of every moneth, bicause the number of eight is the first cube made of even number, and the double of the first square: which dothe represent a stedfastnes immoveable, properly attributed to the might of Neptune, whom for this cause we surname Asphalius, and Gæiochus, which by interpretation dothe signifie: the safe keeper, and the stayer of the earthe.

Theseus tumbe.

Neptune why called Asphalius and Gæiochus.

THE ENDE OF THESEUS LIFE

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LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE LIFE OF ROMULUS

Divers opinions about the name of Rome.

HE Historiographers doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause, the great name of the cittie of Rome (the glorie wherof is blowen abroad through all the worlde) was first geven unto it. For some thincke that the Pelasgians, after they had overcome the greatest parte of the world, and had inhabited and subdued many nations, in the ende dyd staye them selves in that place where it was newe buylded: and for their great strength and power in armes, they gave the name of Rome unto the cittie, as signifying power in the Greeke tongue. Other saye, that after the taking and destruction of Troya, there were certain Troyans which saving them selves from the sworde, tooke suche vessells as they founde at adventure in the haven, and were by winds put with the Thuscane shore, where they anckred neere unto the river of Tyber. There their wives being so sore sea sicke, that possibly they could not any more endure the boisterous surges of the seas: it happened one of them among the rest (the noblest and wisest of the companie) called Roma, to counsaill the other women of her companions to set their shippes a fire, which they dyd accordingly. Wherewith their husbands at the first were marvelously offended. But afterwards, being compelled of necessitie to plant them selves neere unto the cittie of Pallantium, they were appeased when they sawe things prosper better then they hoped for, finding the soyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours civill and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore amongest other honours they dyd to requite this lady Roma, they called their cittie after her name, as from whom came the originall cause of the building and foundation thereof. They saye that from thence came this custome continuing yet to this daye at Rome, that the women saluting their kinsefolkes and hus-

Tybris fl.

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bands doe kisse them in the mouthe, for so dyd these Troyan ladyes to please their husbands, and to winne them againe, after they had lost their favours, and procured their displeasures with burning of their shippes. Other saye that Roma was the daughter of Italus, and of Lucaria, or els of Telephus the sonne of Hercules, and of the wife of Æneas: other saye of Ascanius, the sonne of Æneas, who named the cittie after her name. Other holde opinion that it was Romanus (the sonne of Vlysses and of Circé) that first founded Rome: other will saye that it was Romus the sonne of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither from Troya. Other write that it was one Romis a tyranne of the Latines, who drave the Thuscans out of those partes: which departing out of Thessaly went first of all into Lydia, and afterwards from Lydia into Italie. And furthermore, they who thincke that Romulus (as in deede it carieth best likelyhod) was he that gave the name to the cittie, doe not agree about his auncesters. For some of them write, that he was the sonne of Æneas and of Dexithea the daughter of Phorbus, and that he was brought into Italie of a litle childe with his brother Remus: and that at that time the river of Tyber being overflowen, all other shippes were cast awaye, saving the shippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to a staye upon a very plaine even grounde on the bancke, and bicause the children beyond all hope were saved by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwardes called Roma. Other saye that Roma the daughter of the first Troian ladye was maried unto Latinus the sonne of Telemachus, by whom she had Romulus. Other write, that it was Æmilia, the daughter of Æneas and of Lavinia, which was gotten with childe by the god Mars. Other tell a tale of Romulus birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is sayed that there was sometime a king of Alba named Tarchetius, a very wicked and cruell man, in whose house through the permission of the goddes appeared such a like vision: that there rose up in the harthe of his chymney the forme and facion of a mans privie member, which continued there many dayes. And they saye, that at that time there was in Thuscane an oracle of Thetis, from whom they

ROMULUS

The beginning of kissing their kinsefolkes in the mouthe, came from the Troian women.

Fables of Romulus byrthe.

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ROMULUS
An oracle of Thetis in Thuscane.

brought unto this wicked king Tarchetius suche an aunswer: that he should cause his daughter yet unmaried to have carnall companie with the straunge thing, for she should beare a sonne, that should be famous for his valliancie, for strength of bodye, and his happie successe wherein he should exceede all men of his time. Tarchetius tolde this oracle unto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this straunge thing: but she disdaining to doe it, sent one of her waiting women to undertake the entertainement. But Tarchetius was so mad at this, that he caused them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddesse Vesta appeared to him in his sleepe in the night, and charged him he should not doe it. Whereupon he dyd commaund them to make him a pece of clothe in the prisone, with promise that they should be maried when they had finished it. These poore maydes toyled at it all the live longe daye, but in the night there came other (by Tarchetius commaundement) that dyd undoe all they had done the daye before. In the meane time, this waiting woman that was gott with childe by this straunge thing, was delivered of two goodly boyes or twynnes: whom Tarchetius gave unto one Teratius, with expresse commaundement he should cast them awaye. This Teratius caryed them unto the bancke of the river: thither came a shee woulfe and gave them sucke, and certaine byrdes that brought litle crommes and put them in their mouthes, untill a swyneheard perceyving them, and wondring at the sight, dyd boldly goe to the children, and tooke them awaye with him. These infantes being thus preserved after they were come to mans state, dyd set upon Tarchetius and slewe him. One Promathion an Italian writer, delivereth this storie thus. But the reporte that carieth best credit of all, and is allowed of by many writers: commeth from Diocles Peparethian (whome Fabius Pictor followeth in many thinges), who was the first that put forth this storie among the Grecians, and specially the chiefest poynts of it. Though this matter be somewhat diversely taken, yet in effect the storie is thus. The right line and bloude of the kings of Alba descended from Æneas, by succession from the father to the sonne,

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and the Kingdome fell in the ende betweene two brethern, Numitor and Amulius. They agreed by lotte to make division betweene them, whereof the one to have the Kingdome, and the other all the golde, sylver, readye money, goodes, and juells brought from Troia. Numitor by his lotte chose the Realme for his portion: Amulius having all the golde and treasure in his handes, dyd finde him selfe thereby the stronger, and so dyd easely take his Realme from him. And fearing least his brothers daughter might have children which one day might thrust him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddesse Vesta, there to passe her dayes in virginitie, and never to be maried: (some call her Rhea, other Sylvia, and other Ilia) nevertheles not longe after she was founde with childe, against the rule and profession of the Vestall Nunnes. So nothing had saved her from present death, but the petition of Antho the daughter of king Amulius, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithstanding she was straightly locked up, that no body could see her, nor speake with her, least she should be brought a bedde without Amulius knowledge. In the ende she was delivered of two fayre boyes and marveilous great twynnes: which made Amulius more affrayed then before. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throwe them awaye, and destroye them. Some saye that this servants name was Faustulus: other thincke it was he that brought them up. But whosoever he was, he that had the charge to throwe them awaye, put them in a troughe, and went towards the river with intention to throwe them in. Howbeit he found it risen so highe, and running so swiftely, that he durst not come neere the waters side, and so they being in the troughe, he layed them on the bancke. In the meane time the river swelling still, and overflowing the bancke, in such sorte that it came under the troughe: dyd gently lifte up the troughe, and caried it unto a great playne, called at this present Cermanum, and in the olde time Germanum (as I take it) bicause the Romaines called the brothers of father and mother, Germani. Nowe there was neere unto this place a wilde figge tree which they called Ruminalis, of the name of Romulus as the most parte

ROMULUS

See the fragments of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato.

See also Halicarnasseus, and T. Livius.

Romulus kinred.

Romulus mother.

Faustulus.

Cermanum.

Ruminalis.

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ROMULUS thought: or els bicause the beasts feeding there were wont to come under the same in the extreame heate of the daye, and there dyd Ruminate, that is, chewe their cudde in the shadowe: or perhappes bicause that the two children dyd sucke the teate of the woulfe, which the auncient Latines call Ruma, and they at this day doe yet call the goddesse on whom they crye out to geve their children sucke, Rumilia. And in their sacrifices to her they use no wine, but offer up milke and water mingled with honye. To these two children lying there in this sorte, they write, there came a she woulfe and gave them sucke: and a hitwaw also which dyd helpe to norishe and keepe them. These two beastes are thought to be consecrated to the god Mars, and the Latines doe singularly honour and reverence the hitwaw. This dyd much helpe to geve credit to the wordes of the mother, who affirmed she was conceyved of those two children, by the god Mars. Howbeit some thincke she was deceyved in her opinion: for Amulius that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce dyd ravishe her. Other holde opinion that the name of the nurce which gave the two children sucke with her breastes, gave occasion to common reporte to erre much in this tale, by reason of the double signification thereof. For the Latines doe call with one selfe name shee woulfes *Lupas*, and women that geve their bodyes to all commers: as this nurce the wife of Faustulus (that brought these children home to her house) dyd use to doe. By her right name she was called Acca Laurentia, unto whom the Romaines doe sacrifice yet unto this daye: and the priest of Mars doth offer unto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the sheading of wine and milke accustomed at burialls, and the feast it selfe is called Larentia. It is true that they honour also another Larentia, for like occasion. The clercke or sexten of Hercules temple, not knowing one daye howe to drive awaye the time as it should seeme: of a certaine livelines and boldnes, dyd desire the god Hercules to playe at dyce with him, with condition that if he dyd winne, Hercules should be bounde to send him some good fortune: and if it were his lucke to lose, then he promised Hercules he would provide him a very good supper,

The goddesse Rumilia.

Acca Laurentia Faustulus wife, that nurced the twynnes.

The Greeke sayeth Larentia.

Larentia feast.

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and would besides bring him a fayer gentlewoman to lye with all. The conditions of the playe thus rehearsed, the sexten first cast the dyce for Hercules, and afterwards for him selfe. It fell out that Hercules wanne, and the sexten meaning good fayth, and thincking it very mete to performe the bargaine that him selfe had made, prepared a good supper, and hyered this Laurentia the courtisan, which was very fayer, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus having feasted her within the temple, and prepared a bedde readye there, after supper he locked her into the temple, as if Hercules should have comen in dede and layen with her. And it is said for trothe, that Hercules came thither: and commaunded her in the morning she should goe into the market place, and salute the first man she met, and kepe him ever for her friend. Which thing she performed, and the first man she met was called Tarrutius, a man of great yeres, and one that had gathered together marveilous wealth and riches. He had no children at all, neither was he ever maried. He fell acquainted with this Laurentia, and loved her so dearely, that shortely after chauncing to dye, he made her heire of all he had: whereof she disposed afterwards by her last will and testament, the best and greatest parte unto the people of Rome. Moreover it is reported also, that she now being growen to be famous and of great honour (as thought to be the lemman of a god) dyd vanishe away sodainely in the self same place, where the first Laurentia was buried. The place at this day is called Velabrum: bicause the river being overflowen, they were oftentimes compelled to passe by bote to goe to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying over, Velatura. Other saye, that those tomblers and common players, which shewed sundrye games and pastimes to winne the favour of the people, were wont to cover that passage over with canvas clothes and veyles, by which they goe from the market place to the lystes or shewe place where they ronne their horses, beginning their race even at the place: and they call a veyle in their tongue, Velum. This is the cause why the seconde Laurentia is honored at Rome. Faustulus, chief neateheard to Amulius, tooke up the two children and no bodye knewe

ROMULUS

Laurentia a courtisan.

Tarrutius.

Velabrum whereof *Livie* deca. 3. lib. 7.

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ROMULUS

it, as some saye: or as other reporte, (and likest to be true) with the privitie and knowledge of Numitor, Amulius brother, who secretly furnished them with money that brought up the two young children. It is sayed also they were both conveyed unto the cittie of the Gabians, where they were brought up at schole, and taught all other honest things, which they use to teache the sonnes and children of good and noble men. Further they saye they were named Remus and Romulus, bicause they were founde sucking on the teates of a woulfe. Nowe the beawtie of their bodyes dyd presently shewe, beholding onely but their stature and manner of their countenaunces, of what nature and linadge they were: and as they grewe in yeres, their manly corage increased marvelously, so as they became stowte and hardy men, in so much as they were never troubled or astonied at any daunger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainely that Romulus had more wit and understanding then his brother Remus. For in all things wherein they were to deale with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the boundes and limites of their pastures: it was easely discerned in him, that he was borne to commaund, and not to obeye. For this cause they were both exceedingly beloved of their companions, and of those which were their inferiours. As for the kings heardmen, they passed not muche for them, saying that they were even like them selves, and so seemed not to care a Pynne for their anger or displeasure, but wholy gave them selves to all gentlemanly exercises and trades, thincking to live idely and at ease without travell, was neither comly nor convenient: but to exercise and harden their bodyes with hunting, running, pursuing murderers and theeves, and to helpe those which were oppressed with wronge and violence, shoulde be credit and commendation to them. By reason whereof, in very shorte time they grewe to great fame and renowne. And it fell out by chaunce there rose some stryfe and variance betwene the heardmen of Amulius, and the heardmen of Numitor: in so muche as those that were Numitors, caryed awaye by force some cattell of the others. Thother side would not beare that, but pursued fast after, and beating them well favoredly, they made

Romulus and Remus education.

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them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greatest parte of the cattell they had caried away with them. Wherat Numitor stormed marveilously, but yet his men seemed to make but litle accoumpt of it, and purposing revenge, they gathered about them a good companie of vacabonds (that had neither home, nor resting place) and certaine fugitive bonde men which they intised ill favoredly, incoraging them to steale awaye from their masters. Thus one daye whilest Romulus was busie about some sacrifice, (being a devoute man and religious, and well geven to serve the goddes, and to learne to divine and tell before hande what things should happen and come to passe) it happened the heard men of Numitor to meete Remus very slenderly accompanied: so they fell upon him sodainely, blowes were delt rowndely on bothe sides, and men were hurte on either parte. Howbeit Numitors men in the ende proved the stronger parte, and dyd take Remus by force, and caryed him straight before Numitor, alledging many complaintes and matters against him. Numitor durst not punish him of his owne authoritie, bicause he feared his brother Amulius, who was somewhat terrible: but went unto him, and earnestly besought him to doe him justice, and not to suffer him being his owne brother, to receyve such injurye of his men. There was not a man in the cittie of Alba, but dyd greatly mislike the injurie done to Numitor: and spake it openly, that he was no persone to be offered such a wronge. In so muche as Amulius moved herewith, dyd deliver Remus into his handes, to punishe him as he thought good. Whereupon Numitor caried him home with him. But when he had him in his house, he beganne to consider better of him, with admiration howe goodly a younge man he was, howe in height and strength of bodye he passed all the rest of his people: and perceyving in his face an assured constancie, and bolde stedfast corage that yelded not, nor was abashed for any daunger he sawe toward him: and hearing also the reporte of his actes and manhod to be aunswerable to that he sawe: (being chiefly moved in mine opinion by some secret inspiration of the goddes, which ordaine the depthe of great matters) beganne partely by conjecture, and partely by chaunce to take a conceit of him.

Romulus a godly man.

Remus taken of Numitors heardmen.

Gods providence.

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ROMULUS So he asked him what he was, and who was his father and mother: speaking to him in a more gentle wise, and with a friendlier countenaunce then before, to make him the bolder to answer, and be of better hope. Remus boldly aunswered him. Truely I will not hide the trothe from thee, for thou seemest to me more worthie to be King, then thy brother Amulius. For thou enquierest, and hearest first before thou condemnest: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Untill nowe, we thought we had bene the children of two of the Kings servants, to wit of Faustulus and of Laurentia: I saye we, bicause my brother and I are two twynnes. But seeing we are nowe falsely accused unto thee, and by malicious surmised tales are wrongefully brought in daunger of our lives: we intend to discover our selves, and to declare straunge things unto thee, whereof the present perill we stande nowe in, shall plainely prove the trothe. Men saye that we have bene begotten miraculously, fostered and geven sucke more straungely, and in our tender yeres were fedd by birdes and wilde beasts, to whom we were cast out as a praye. For a woulfe gave us sucke with her teates, and an hitwaw (they saye) brought us litle crommes, and put them in our mouthes, as we laye upon the bancke by the river, where we were put in a troughe that at this daye remaineth whole, bounde about with plates of copper, upon the which are some letters engraven halfe worne out, which peradventure one daye will serve for some tokens of knowledge (unprofitable for our parents) when it shalbe to late, and after we are dead and gone. Numitor then comparing these wordes, with the age the younge man seemed to be of, and considering well his face: dyd not reject the hope of his imagination that smiled on him, but handled the matter so, that he found meanes to speake secretly with his daughter, notwithstanding at that time she was kept very straightly. Faustulus in the meane time hearing that Remus was prisoner, and that the King had delivered him already into the hands of his brother Numitor to doe justice, went to praye Romulus to helpe him, and tolde him then whose children they were: for before he had never opened it to them but in darcke speaches, and glawnsingwise, and so muche as sufficed to put

Remus oration, declaring the birth of himself and his brother Romulus.

Numitors wisdome.

Faustulus care to save Remus.

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them in some hope. So Faustulus taking the troughe with him at that time, went unto Numitor in great haste, as marveilously affrayed for the present daunger he thought Remus in. The Kings souldiers which warded at the gates of the cittie, beganne to gather some suspition of Faustulus manner of comming: and he made him selfe to be the more suspected, being questioned with about the cause of his repaire thither, that he faltred in his wordes: besides, they espied his troughe which he caried under his cloke. Nowe amongest the warders, there was by chaunce one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be cast awaye, and was present when they were left on the bancke of the river to the mercie of fortune. This man knewe the troughe by and by, aswell by the facion, as by the letters graven upon it: who mistrusted straight that which was true in deede. So he dyd not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led Faustulus with him to have him confesse the trothe. Faustulus being in this perplexitie, could not kepe all close upon examination, but dyd utter out somewhat of the matter, and yet he tolde not all. For he plainely justified the children were alive: yet he sayed they were farre from the cittie of Alba, where they kept beastes in the fields. And as for the troughe, he was going to carye it to Ilia, bicause she had divers times prayed him to let her see and feele it: to the ende she might be the more assured of her hope, who promised her that one daye she should see her children againe. So it chaunced unto Amulius at that time, as it commonly dothe unto those that are troubled, and doe any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to send one presently (who in all other things was a very honest man, but a great friende of his brother Numitors) to aske him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were alive. This persone being come to Numitors house, founde him ready to embrace Remus, who fell to be witnes thereof, and of the good happe discovered unto Numitor: whereupon he perswaded him howe to set upon his brother, and to dispatche the matter with spede. So from that time forwards, he tooke their parte. On thother side also the matter gave

Amulius perplexed in his minde.

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ROMULUS

them no leisure to deferre their enterprise, although they had bene willing: for the whole case was somewhat blowen abroade. So Romulus then got straight a power, and drewe very neere the cittie, and many of the citizens of Alba went out to joyne with him, who either feared or hated Amulius. Nowe Romulus power which he brought (over and besides those citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were divided by hundreds, and every hundred had his captaine who marched before his bande, carying litle bundells of grasse or of boughes tyed to the ende of their poles. The Latines call these bundels Manipulos, whereof it commeth that yet at this daye in an armie of the Romaines, the souldiers which are all under one ensigne, are called Manipulares. So Remus sturring up those that were within the cittie, and Romulus bringing in men from without, the tyranne Amulius fell in suche feare and agonie, that without providing any thing for his safety, they came upon him sodainly in his palace, and slewe him. Thus you heare howe neere Fabius Pictor and Diocles Peparethian doe agree in reciting the storie, who was the first in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the cittie of Rome: howbeit there are that thincke they are all but fables and tales devised of pleasure. But me thincks for all that, they are not altogether to be rejected or discredited, if we will consider fortunes straunge effects upon times, and of the greatnes also of the Romaine empire: which had never atchieved to her present possessed power and authoritie, if the goddes had not from the beginning bene workers of the same, and if there had not also bene some straunge cause, and wonderfull foundation. Amulius being nowe slayne as before, and after that all things were appeased, and reduced to good order againe: Remus and Romulus would not dwell in the cittie of Alba, being no lordes thereof, nor also would be lords of it, so long as their grandfather by the mothers side was alive. Wherefore after they had restored him to his estate, and had done the honour and duety they ought unto their mother: they purposed to goe and build a cittie in those places where they had bene first brought up, for this was the honestest culler they could pretend for their depart-

Manipulares whereof so called.

Amulius slayne.

The building of Rome.

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ing from Alba. Peradventure they were enforced so to doe whether they would or not, for the great number of banished men, and fugitive slaves which were gathered together by them for their strength, who had bene utterly lost and cast away, if they had bene once discharged by them. Therfore it was of necessitie that they should dwell by them selves, separated in some place, to kepe this number together and in some order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the cittie of Alba would not suffer such banished persones and runnagates to be mingled amongest them, nor would receave them into their cittie to be free among them. All which appeareth sufficiently: first, bicause they tooke awaye women by force: and so not of insolencie, but of necessitie, when they founde no man that would bestow any of them. It is manifest also they dyd greately honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their cittie beganne a litle to be setled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitives and afflicted persones, which they called the temple of the god Asylæus. Where there was sanctuarie and safety for all sortes of people that repaired thither, and could get into the temple, for whom it was alledged they could not deliver any bonde man to his master, nor detter to his creditor, nor murtherer to the justice that was fled thither for succor, bicause the oracle of Apollo the Delphian had expressely enjoyned them to graunte sanctuary to all those that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in shorte space their cittie florished, and was repleanished, where at the first foundation of it, they saye there was not above one thousand houses, as more at large hereafter shalbe declared. When they came nowe to the building of their cittie, Romulus and Remus the two brethern fell sodainely at a strife together about the place where the cittie should be builded. For Romulus built Rome, which is called foure square, and would needes it should remaine in the place which he had chosen. Remus his brother chose another place very strong of situation, upon mounte Aventine, which was called after his name Remonium, and nowe is called Rignarium. Notwithstanding, in the ende they agreed betwene them selves this controversie should be decided, by

Asylæus temple, a sanctuarie for all banished persones and fugitives.

Strife betwixt Romulus and Remus.

Remonium.

Rignarium.

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the flying of birds, which doe geve a happy divination of things to come. So being sett in divers places by them selves to make observation, some saye that there appeared unto Remus sixe, and to Romulus twelve vulters. Other saye that Remus truely sawe sixe, and Romulus feigned from the beginning that he sawe twise as many: but when Remus came to him, then there appeared twelve in deede unto Romulus, and this is the cause why the Romaines at this daye in their divinations and soothesayings of the flying of birds, doe marvelously observe the flying of the vulters. It is true which the historiographer Herodorus Ponticus writeth: that Hercules rejoyced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being readie to beginne any enterprise. For it is the foule of the worlde that dothe least hurte, and never marreth nor destroyeth any thing that man dothe sowe, plante, or set: considering that she feedeth on carion only, and dothe never hurte nor kill any living thing. Also she dothe not praye upon dead fowle, for the likenes that is betwene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the sakers doe murther, kill, and eate those which are of their owne kynde. And yet as Æschylus sayeth,

The Romains observe the flying of vulters.

> **Needes must that fowle accompted be most vile,**
> **most ravening, and full of filthie minde,**
> **Which doth him self, continually defile,**
> **by praying still upon his propre kinde.**

Moreover, other birdes are allwayes (as a man would saye) before our eyes, and doe daylie shewe them selves unto us: where the vulter is a very rare byrde, and hardely to be seene, and men doe not easely finde their ayeries. Which hathe geven some occasion to holde a false opinion, that the vulters are passagers, and come into these partes out of straunge countryes. The prognosticators also thincke, that suche things which are not ordinarie, and but seldome seene, be not naturall, but miraculously sent by the goddes to prognosticate something. When Remus knewe howe his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when Romulus had cast a dytche, as it were for the wall about his cittie, Remus dyd not only scorne it, but hindered also his worke, and in the ende for a mockerie lept over his

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wall. To conclude, he dyd so much, that at the last he was slayne there by Romulus owne handes as some saye: or as other holde opinion, by the handes of one of his men which was called Celer. In this fight they slewe Faustulus, and Plistinus also his brother, who had holpen him to bring up Romulus. Howsoever the matter fell out, this Celer absented him selfe from Rome, and went into the countrye of Thuscane. And they saye, that men which are quicke, and readye upon a sodaine, tooke their names ever after upon him, and were called Celeres. As amongest other, Quintus Metellus, after the death of his father, having in very fewe dayes made the people of Rome to see a combate of fensers (called Gladiatores) fighting at the sharpe, they surnamed him Celer, for that the Romaines marveiled howe he could prepare his things in so shorte a time. Furthermore, Romulus having nowe buried his brother, and his other two bringers up (called foster fathers) in the place they call Remonia: beganne then to buyld and laye the foundation of his cittie, sending for men out of Thuscane, who dyd name and teache him particularly all the ceremonies he had to observe there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy mysterie. And first of all they made a rounde dytche in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they dyd cast their chiefest and best things, which men use lawfully for good, and naturally as most necessarie. After that they dyd throwe also into it, a litle of the earthe, from whence every man came, and mingled these all together. This dytche in their ceremonies is called the worlde, in Latine *Mundus*, even the selfe same name the Latines call the Universall. About this dytche they dyd trace the compasse of the cittie they woulde buylde, even as one would drawe a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the cittie taketh a plough, to which he fastened a culter or ploughe share of brasse, and so yoked in the ploughe an oxe and a cowe, he him selfe holding the ploughe dyd make rounde about the compasse of the cittie a deepe furrowe. Those which followed him, had the charge to throwe the turves of earthe inward into the cittie, which the ploughe share raised up, and not to leave any of them turned outward. The furrowe

Remus slayne by Romulus or Celer.

Celeres wherfore so called.

Q. Metellus Celer.

Romulus layeth the foundation of Rome.

The world.

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ROMULUS thus cast up was the whole compasse of their walle, which they call in Latine Pomœrium, by shortning of the syllables, for *post murum*: to wit, 'after wall.' But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they dyd take of the ploughe share, and drawe the ploughe, with leaving a certain space of earthe unbroken up: whereupon the Romaines thincke all the compasse of their walles holy and sacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and sanctified, they would have had a conscience through them to have brought in, or caried out of the cittie, any things necessarie for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Nowe they beleeve certainely, that this ceremonie of the foundation of their cittie was made the one and twentie of Aprill: bicause the Romaines doe yet keepe that daye holy daye, and call it the feast of the nativitie of their countrye. On which daye they dyd not in olde time sacrifice any thing that had life, as esteeming that daye (which was the nativitie of their cittie) to be most mete to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloude. Notwithstanding before Rome was buylded, they had another feast called the sheapeheards or heardmens holy daye, which they dyd celebrate upon the same daye, and called it Palilia. Nowe at this daye the beginnings of the moneths with the Romaines is cleane contrarie to the Grecians: yet for all this, they holde opinion for certaintie that the daye on which Romulus founded his cittie, was assuredly that which the Grecians call Triacada: that is to saye, the thirtie daye. On which there was seene an eclypse of the moone, which they suppose was observed by the Poet Antimachus (borne in the cittie of Teos) in the thirtenth yere of the sixt Olympiade. Likewise in the time of Marcus Varro (as a man learned, and one that had redde as much of auncient stories as any Romaine) there was a friend of his called Tarutius, a great philosopher and mathematician. Who being geven to the calculation of astronomie for the delight of speculation only, wherein he was thought most excellent: it dyd fall out that Varro gave him this question, to searche out what hower and daye the nativitie of Romulus was, who gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they doe in the resolutions of cer-

Pomœrium why so called.

The walles holye.

The feast day of Romes foundation the 21. Aprill.

The feast Palilia.

An eclypse of the moone at the laying of the foundation of Rome.

Varro a philosopher.

Tarutius a mathematician.

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taine geometricall questions. For they saye, that by the selfe same science, one maye tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainely the hower of his nativitie: and howe one maye tell also the hower of his nativitie, when by accidents they knowe what hath happened to him all his life. Tarutius dyd the question that Varro gave him. And having throughely considered the adventures, dedes, and gestes of Romulus, howe long he lived, and howe he dyed: all which being gathered and conferred together, he dyd boldly judge for a certaintie, that he was conceyved in his mothers wombe, in the first yere of the seconde Olympiade, the three and twentie daye of the moneth which the Ægyptians call Chæac, and now is called December, about three of the clocke in the morning, in which hower there was a whole eclypse of the sunne: And that he was borne into the worlde, the one and twenteth of the moneth of Thoth, which is the moneth of September, about the rising of the sunne. And that Rome was begonne by him on the ninth daye of the moneth which the Ægyptians call Pharmuthi, and aunswereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning. For they will saye that a cittie hathe his revolution and his time of continuaunce appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knewe by the situation of the starres, the daye of her beginning and foundation. These things and suche other like, peradventure will please the readers better, for their straungenes and curiositie, then offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Nowe after he had founded his cittie, he first and foremost dyd divide in two companies, all those that were of age to carie armour. In every one of these companies there were three thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, bicause they were sorted of the chosen men that were pyckt out amongest all the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called Populus, which signifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred counsellers of the best and honestest men of the cittie, which he called Patricians: and the whole company of them together he called Senatus, as one would saye, the counsell of the auncients. So they were called

The hower of a mans nativitie maye be calculated by his accidents.

Romulus nativitie calculated by Tarutius.

An eclypse of the sunne when Romulus was conceived in his mothers wombe.

The Romaine legion.

3000 footemen.

300 horsemen.

Romulus instituteth a common wealth.

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ROMULUS

What the Patricians and Senate were.

Patricians, as some will saye, the counsaill of the fathers lawfull children, which fewe of the first inhabitants could shewe. It maye be, some will saye this name was geven them of Patrocinium, as growing of the protection they had by the sanctuarie of their cittie, which worde they use at this daye in the selfe same signification: as one that followed Evander into Italie, was called Patron, bicause he was pitiefull, and relieved the poore and litle children, and so got him selfe a name for his pitie and humanitie. But me thinckes it were more like the trothe to saye, that Romulus dyd call them so, bicause he thought the chiefest men should have a fatherly care of the meaner sorte: considering also it was to teache the meaner sorte that they should not fear th' authoritie of the greater, nor envie at their honours they had, but rather in all their causes should use their favour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For even at this present, straungers call those of the Senate, lordes or captaines: but the naturall Romaines call them, Patres Conscripti, which is a name of fatherhed and dignitie without envie. It is true that at the beginning they were only called Patres, but sithence, bicause they were many joyned unto the first, they have bene named Patres Conscripti, as a man should saye, fathers of recorde together: which is the honorablest name he could have devised to make a difference betwext the Senatours, and the people. Furthermore, he made a difference betweene the chiefer cittizens, and the baser people, by calling the better sorte Patroni, as muche to saye, as defenders: and the meaner sorte Clientes, as you would saye, followers, or men protected. This dyd breede a marveilous great love and good will among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutuall curtesies and pleasures: for the Patrons dyd helpe the clients to their right, defended their causes in judgement, dyd geve unto them counsaill, and dyd take all their matters in hande. The clients againe enterchaungeably humbled them selves to their patrons, not onely in outwarde honour and reverence towardes them, but otherwise dyd helpe them with money to marrie and advaunce their daughters, or els to paye their dettes and credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was

Patres Conscripti.

Patroni. Clientes.

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no lawe nor magistrate that could compell the patron to be a witnes against his client: nor yet the client to witnesse against his patron. So they increased, and continued, all other rights and offices of amitie and friendshippe together, saving afterwards they thought it a great shame and reproache for the better, and richer, to take rewarde of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we have spoken sufficiently. Moreover, foure moneths after the foundation of the cittie was layed, Fabius writeth, there was a great ravishement of women. There are some which laye it upon Romulus, who being then of nature warlike, and geven to prophecies and aunswers of the goddes, foretolde that his cittie should become very great and mightie, so as he raysed it by warres, and increased it by armes: and he sought out this culler to doe mischief, and to make warre upon the Sabynes. To prove this true, some saye he caused certaine of their maydes by force to be taken awaye, but not past thirtie in number, as one that rather sought cause of warres, then dyd it for neede of mariages: which me thinckes was not likely to be true, but rather I judge the contrarie. For seeing his cittie was incontinently repleanished with people of all sortes, whereof there were very fewe that had wives, and that they were men gathered out of all countryes, and the most parte of them poore and needye, so as their neighbours disdayned them much, and dyd not looke they would longe dwell together: Romulus hoping by this violent taking of their maydes and ravishing them, to have an entrie into alliance with the Sabynes, and to entise them further to joyne with them in mariage, if they dyd gently intreate these wives they had gotten, enterprised this violent taking of their maydes, and ravishing of them in suche a sorte. First he made it to be commonly bruited abroade in every place, that he had founde the altar of a god hidden in the grounde, and he called the name of the god, Consus: either bicause he was a god of counsaill, wherupon the Romaines at this daye in their tongue call Consilium, which we call counsell: and the chief magistrates of their cittie Consules, as we saye counsellers. Other saye it was the altar of the god Neptune, surnamed the patron of horses. For this altar is yet at this

The shame of the Romaines to take giftes of poore men.

The ravishement of the Sabynes women.

Romulus crafte about the ravishement of the Sabynes daughters.

Consus a god.

Neptune the god of horsemen.

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ROMULUS

daye within the great listes of the cittie, and ever covered and hidden, but when they use the running games of their horse race. Other saye bicause counsell ever must be kept close and secret, they had good reason to kepe the altar of this god Consus hidden in the grounde. Nowe other write when it was opened, Romulus made a sacrifice of wonderfull joye, and afterwardes proclaymed it openly in divers places, that at suche a daye there should be common playes in Rome, and a solemne feast kept of the god Consus, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all partes. He him selfe was set in the chiefest seate of the showe place, apparelled fayer in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his cittie about him. And there having purposed this ravishement you have heard of, he had geven the signe before: that the same should beginne, when he should rise up and folde a playte of his gowne, and unfolde the same againe. Hereupon his men stoode attending with their swordes: who so sone as they perceyved the signe was geven, with their swordes drawen in hande, and with great showtes and cryes ranne violently on the maydes and daughters of the Sabynes to take them awaye and ravishe them, and suffered the men to ronne awaye, without doing them any hurte or violence. So some saye, there were but thirtie ravished, after whose names were called the thirtie linages of the people of Rome. Howbeit Valerius Antias writeth, that there were five hundred and seven and twentie: and Iuba, sixe hundred foure score and three. In the which is singularly to be noted for the commendation of Romulus, that he him selfe dyd take then but onely one of the maydes, named Hersilia: that afterwardes was the only cause and mediation of peace betwext the Sabynes and the Romaines. Which argueth plainely, that it was not to doe the Sabynes any hurte, nor to satisfie any disordinate lust, that they had so forcibly undertaken this ravishement: but to joyne two peoples together, with the straightest bondes that could be betweene men. This Hersilia as some saye, was maried unto one Hostilius, the noblest man at that time amongest the Romaines: or as others write, unto Romulus him selfe,

The execution of the ravishment.

The number of the Sabyne women ravished.

Hersilia Romulus wife.

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which had two children by her. The first was a daughter, and her name was Prima, bicause she was the first: the other was a sonne, whom he named Aollius, bicause of the multitude of people he had assembled together in his cittie, and afterwardes he was surnamed Abillius. Thus Zenodotus the Trœzenian writeth, wherein notwithstanding there be divers that doe contrarie him. Among those which ravished then the daughters of the Sabynes, it is sayed there were founde certaine meane men carying away a marveilous passing fayer one. These met by chaunce on the waye, certaine of the chief of the cittie, who would have taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they beganne to crye they caried her unto Talassius, who was a younge man marveilously well beloved of every bodye. Which when the others understoode, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: in so much as there were some which sodainely turned backe againe, and dyd accompanie them for Talassius sake, crying out a lowde, and often on his name. From whence the custome came, which to this daye the Romaines synge at their mariages, Talassius, like as the Grecians synge Hymeneus. For it is sayed he was compted very happie that he met with this woman. But Sextius Sylla a Carthaginian borne, a man very wise, and well learned, tolde me once it was the crye and signe which Romulus gave to his men, to beginne the ravishement: whereupon those which caried them awaye, went crying this worde Talassius, and that from thence the custome hathe continued, that they singe it yet at their mariages. Nevertheles the most parte of authors, specially Iuba, thinckes it is a warning to remember the newe maried women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the Grecians call Talassia, the Italian words at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the Romaines used this terme of Talassia, as we of Grece doe use: we might by conjecture yeld another reason for it, which should carie a better likelyhoode and proofe. For when the Sabynes after the battell had made peace with the Romaines, they put in an article in favour of the women in the treatie, that they should not be bounde to serve their husbands in any other worke, but in

ROMULUS

Romulus first daughter called Prima.

His sonne was called Aollius.

Abillius.

The cause why the Romaines doe synge the name of Talassius in mariages.

Talassia.

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ROMULUS

Matrimoniall ceremonie at Rome.

spinning of wolle. Ever since this custome hathe growen, that those which geve their daughters in mariage, and those who leade the bryde, and such as are present at the wedding, speake in sporte to the newe maried wife, laughing, Talassius: in token that they doe not leade the bryde for any other worke or service, but to spinne wolle. Thereof this hathe bene the use to this daye, that the bryde dothe not of her selfe come over the threshold of her husbands dore, but she is hoysed pretely into the house: bicause the Sabyne women at that time were so lift up, and caried away by force. They saye also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded wives heare, with the Iron head of a Javeling, came up then likewise: this storie being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the swords poynte: as we have written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and showe the causes of the Romaines facions and customes. This ravishement was put in execution about the eightenth daye of the moneth then called Sextilis, and nowe named August: on which daye they yet celebrate the feast they call Consalia. Nowe the Sabynes were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within inclosed walles: being a thing fit for their noble courages that dyd feare nothing, and as those who were descended from the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheles, they seeing them selves bound and tyed to peace by pledges and hostages, that were very neere allyed unto them, and fearing their daughters should be ill intreated: sent ambassadours to Romulus, by whom they made reasonable offers and persuasions, that their daughters might be delivered unto them againe, without any force or violence, and then afterwardes, that he would cause them to be asked in mariage of their parents, as bothe reason and lawe would require. To thend that with good will and consent of all parties, both peoples might contract amitie and alliance together. Whereunto Romulus made aunswer, he could not restore the maydes which his people had taken awaye and maried: but most friendly he prayed the Sabynes to be contented with their alliance. This aunswer being returned, and not liked, whilest the princes

Sextilis, August.

Plutar. in his proble. Consualia.

The Sabynes what they were.

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and communaltie of the Sabynes were occupied in consultation, and about the arming of them selves: Acron king of the Ceninenses (a man exceeding couragious and skilfull in the warres, and one that from the beginning mistrusted the over bolde and stowte enterprises that Romulus was likely to attempt, considering the late ravishment of the Sabynes daughters, and howe he was alreadye greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and somwhat untolerable, if he were not chasticed and brought lower) first beganne to invade him with a puissant armie, and to make hotte and violent warres upon him. Romulus on th' other side prepared also, and went forth to meete him. When they were come so neere together that they might see one another, they sent defiance to eache other, and prayed that they two might fight man to man amiddest their armies, and neither of theirs to sturre a foote. Bothe of them accepted of it, and Romulus making his prayer unto Iupiter, dyd promise, and made a vowe: that if he dyd geve him the victorie to overcome, he would offer up to him the armour of his enemie, which he dyd. For first he slew Acron in the field, and afterwards gave battell to his men, and overthrew them also. Lastely he tooke his cittie, where he did no hurte nor yet displeasure to any, saving that he dyd commaunde them to pull downe their houses, and destroy them, and to goe dwell with him at Rome: where they should have the selfe same rightes and priviledges which the first inhabitants did enjoye. There was nothing more enlarged the cittie of Rome, then this manner of pollicie, to joyne allwayes unto it those she had overcome and vancquished. Romulus now to discharge his vowe, and in suche sorte that his offering might be acceptable to Iupiter, and pleasaunt to his cittizens to beholde: did cut downe a goodly straight growen young oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lye. The same he trimmed and dyd set forth after the manner of victorie, hanging and tying all about it in fayer order, the armour and weapons of king Acron. Then he girding his gowne to him, and putting upon his long bushe of heare, a garland of lawrell, layed the young oke upon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his cittie, and songe a

Acron king of the Ceninenses maketh warre with Romulus.

Acron slaine in the field.

Romulus triumphe.

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ROMULUS

royall songe of victorie, all his armie following him in armes unto the cittie in order of battell: where his cittizens receyved him in all passing wise and triumphe. This noble and stately entrie ever since hath geven them minds in such sorte, and in statelier wise to make their triumphe. The offering of this triumphe was dedicated to Iupiter surnamed Feretrian: bicause the Latine worde *Ferire*, signifieth to hurt and kill: and the prayer Romulus had made, was, he might hurt and kill his enemie. Such spoyles are called in Latine, *Spolia opima*: therefore sayeth Varro, that *opes* signifie riches. Howbeit me thinckes it were more likely to saye, that they were so named of this worde *Opus*, which betokeneth a dede, bicause he must needes be the chief of the armie, that hath slayne with his owne hands the generall of his enemies, and that must offer the spoyles called *Spolia opima*, as you would saye, his principal spoyles and dedes. This never happened yet but to three Romaine captaines onely: of the which Romulus was the first, who slew Acron, king of the Ceninenses. Cornelius Cossus was the second, who killed Tolumnius, the generall of the Thuscans. Clodius Marcellus was the thirde, who slewe Britomartus, king of the Gaules, with his owne hands. And for the two last, Cossus and Marcellus, they made their entrie into the cittie, carying their triumphes upon charets triumphant: but Romulus did not so. Therefore in this poynt Dionysius the historiographer hath erred, writing that Romulus dyd enter into Rome upon a charret triumphant. For it was Tarquinius Priscus the sonne of Demaratus, who first dyd set out triumphes in so stately and magnificent showe. Other holde opinion it was Valerius Publicola, who was the first that ever entred upon triumphant charret. Concerning Romulus, his statues are yet to be seene in Rome, carying his triumphe a foote. After this overthrowe and taking of the Ceninenses, the inhabitants of the citties of Fidena, Crustumerium, and Antemna, rose alltogether against the Romaines, whiles the other Sabynes also were a preparing them selves. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the overthrowe: and left their citties to the spoyle of Romulus, their lands to be geven where he thought good, and them selves to be caried

The beginning of triumphe.

Iupiter Feretrius.

Spolia opima.

Three Romaines onely obteined *spolia opima.*

Tarquinius Priscus the first that triumphed in charet.

Valerius Publicola.

The citties of Fidena, Crustumerium, and of Antemna rose all against Romulus.

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to Rome. Romulus then dyd geve their lands among his cittizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maydens that they had taken away and ravished. For he was contented that the fathers of them should kepe still their lands. By and by the other Sabynes stomaking thereat, did chuse them a generall called Tatius, and so went with a puysant army toward the cittie of Rome, whereunto to approche at that time it was very harde, the castell or keepe of their cittie being seated, where at this day the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great garrison, whereof Tarpeius was captaine, and not his daughter Tarpeia, as some will saye, who set out Romulus as a foole. But Tarpeia the captaines daughter, for the desire she had to have all the golde bracelets which they dyd weare about their armes, solde the forte to the Sabynes, and asked for reward of her treason, all they did weare on their left armes. Tatius promised them unto her: and she opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the Sabynes into the castell. Antigonus then was not alone, who sayed, he loved those which did betraye, and hated them that had betrayed: nor yet Cæsar Augustus, who told Rymitalces the Thracian, that he loved treason, but he hated traytors. And it is a comon affection which we beare to wicked persons, whilest we stand in neede of them: not unlike for all the world to those which have nede of the gall and poyson of venemous beasts. For when they finde it, they are glad, and take it to serve their turne: but after their turne is served, and they have that they sought, they hate the crueltie of such beasts. So played Tatius at that time. For when he was gotten into the castell, he commanded the Sabynes (for performance of his promise he had made to Tarpeia) they should not sticke to geve her all they weare on their left armes, and to doe as he did: who taking from his owne arme first, the bracelet which he ware, did cast it to her, and his target after. And so did all the rest in like sorte, in so much as being borne downe to the ground by the weight of bracelets and targets, she dyed as pressed to deathe under her burden. Nevertheles Tarpeius self was atteinted, and condemned also of treason, by Romulus order, as Iuba

The Sabynes led by Tatius, went to besiege the cittie of Rome.

Tarpeia betrayeth the castell, and letteth in the Sabynes.

Antigonus and Augustus Cæsars words of traytours.

A fit similitude.

Note the reward of treason.

Tarpeia pressed to deathe.

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ROMULUS sayeth, it is set forth by Sulpitius Galba. They that write nowe otherwise of Tarpeia, saying she was the daughter of Tatius, generall of the Sabynes, and was forced by Romulus to lie with him, and how she was punished in this sorte by her own father after her said treason committed: those I saye, amongest whom Antigonus is one, are not to be credited. And the poet Simylus also dothe dote most, who sayeth Tarpeia solde the Capitoll not to the Sabynes, but to the king of Gaules, with whom she was in love: as in these verses dothe appeare.

Tarpeia, that mayde of foolishe mynde,
which nere unto the Capitoll did dwell
(In fervent flames, of beastly love beblynde,
wherewith the king of Gaules did make her swell)
Caused stately Rome surprised for to be
by enemies, as every man maye see.
And so throughe hope of his fidelitie
betrayed her syre, with all his familie.

And a litle after, in speaking of the manner of her deathe, he sayeth also:

Yet lo: the Gaules, those worthie men of might
threw her not downe, into the waves of Po,
But from their armes, wherewith they wonte to fight
they cast their shields upon her body so,
That she surprest with such an heavy waight,
(Ah woefull mayde) to death was smoothred straight.

This mayden therefore being buried in the same place, the whole hill was called afterwardes Tarpeius after her name, which continued untill Tarquinius the King dyd dedicate all the place to Iupiter: for then they caryed her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Onles it be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call Rupes Tarpeia, from the toppe whereof they were wonte in olde time to throwe downe hedlong all wicked offenders. When the Sabynes now had gotten this holde, Romulus being exceeding wrathe, sent them a defiaunce, and bad them battell if they durst. Tatius straight refused not, considering if by mischaunce they were distressed, they had a sure refuge to retire unto. The place betweene the two armies

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where the fight should be, was all round about environned with litle hilles. So as it was playne, the fight could not be but sharpe and daungerous, for the discommodiousnes of the place, were was neither grounde for any to flye, nor yet any space for any longe chase, it was of so small a compasse. Nowe it fortuned by chaunce, the river of Tyber had overflowen the banckes a fewe dayes before, and there remained in it a deeper mudde then men would have judged, bicause the grounde was so plaine, and was even where the great market place of Rome standeth at this daye. They could discerne nothing thereof by the eye, bicause the upper parte of it was crusted, whereby it was the more readye for them to venter upon, and the worse to get out, for that it dyd syncke underneathe. So the Sabynes had gone upon it, had not Curtius daunger sene, which by good fortune stayed them. He was one of the noblest and valliantest men of the Sabynes, who being mounted upon a courser, went on a good waye before the armie. This courser entring upon the crusted mudde, and sincking with all, beganne to plonge and struggle in the myer: whereat Curtius proved a while with the spurre to sturre him, and get him out, but in the ende seeing it would not be, he left his backe, and saved him selfe. The same very place to this daye is called after his name, Lacus Curtius. The Sabynes then scaping thus this daunger, beganne the battell. The fight dyd growe very cruell, and endured so a great while, the victorie leaning no more to the one side then to the other. There dyed in a small space a great number of men, amongest whom Hostilius was one, who as they saye was the husband of Hersilia, and grandfather to Hostilius that was king of Romaines after Numa Pompilius. Afterwardes there were (as we may thincke) many other encounters and battells betweene them: howbeit they make mention of the last above all the rest, wherein Romulus had so sore a blowe on his head with a stone, that he was almost felled to the grounde, in so much as he was driven to retire a litle out of the battell. Upon which occasion the Romaines gave backe also, and drue towardes mount Palatine, being driven out of the playne by force. Romulus beganne nowe to recover of

The place of the fight betwext Romulus and Tatius.

Curtius the Sabyne.

Curtius lake.

The Sabynes geve battell to Romulus.

Hostilius slayne.

Romulus hit on the head with a stone.

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ROMULUS

the blowe he had receyved, and so returned to geve a newe onset, and cryed out all he might to his souldiers to tarye, and shewe their face againe to their enemie. But for all his lowde crying, they left no flying still for life, and there was not one that durst returne againe. Whereupon Romulus lyfting up his handes straight to heaven, dyd most fervently praye unto Iupiter, that it would please him to staye the flying of his people, and not suffer the Romaines glorie thus to fall to their utter destruction, but to repaire it by his favour againe. He had no soner ended this prayer, but divers of his men that fled, beganne to be ashamed to flye before their King, and a sodaine boldnes came upon them, and their feare therewithall vanished awaye. The place they first stayed in was, where as nowe is the temple of Iupiter Stator, which is as much to saye, as Iupiter the stayer. Afterwardes gathering them selves together againe, they repulsed the Sabynes even to the place they call nowe Regia, and unto the temple of the goddesse Vesta: where bothe the battels being prepared to geve a newe charge, there dyd fall out before them, a straunge and an uncredible thing to see, which stayed them they fought not. For of the Sabyne women whom the Romaines had ravished, some ranne of the one side, other of the other side of the battels, with lamentations, cryes, and showtes, stepping betweene their weapons, and among the slayne bodyes on the grounde, in suche sorte that they seemed out of their wittes, and caried as it were with some spirites. In this manner they went to finde out their fathers and their husbands, some carying their sucking babes in their armes, other having their heare lose about their eyes, and all of them calling, nowe upon the Sabynes, nowe upon the Romaines, with the gentelest names that could be devised: which dyd melt the hartes of bothe parties in suche sorte, that they gave backe a litle, and made them place betweene bothe the battells. Then were the cryes and lamentations of every one playnely hearde. There was not a man there but it pittied him, aswell to see them in that pittiefull case, as to heare the lamentable wordes they spake: adding to their most humble petitions and requestes that could be any waye imagined, passing wise persuasions and

Iupiter Stator.

A wonderfull boldnes of women.

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reasons to induce them to a peace. For what offence (sayed they) or what displeasure have we done to you, that we should deserve suche an heape of evills, as we have already suffered, and yet you make us beare? we were as you knowe violently (and against all lawe) ravished by those, whose nowe we remaine. But oure fathers, oure brethren, oure mothers and friends have left us with them so long, that processe of time, and the straightest bonds of the worlde, have tyed us nowe so fast to them, whom mortally before we hated: that we are constrayned nowe to be slighted thus, to see them fight, yea and to lament and dye with them, who before unjustly tooke us from you. For then you came not to oure rescue when we were virgines untouched, nof to recover us from them when they wickedly assaulted us, poore sowles: but nowe ye come to take the wives from their husbands, and the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thincke to geve us nowe dothe grieve us more, then the forsaking of us was sorowfull to us then. Suche is the love they have borne unto us, and suche is the kyndenes we beare againe to them. Nowe, if ye dyd fight for any other cause then for us, yet were it reason ye should let fall your armes for oure sakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in lawe, cosins and brothers in lawe) even from those against whom you now bend your force. But if all this warre beganne for us, we hartely beseeche you then that you will receyve us with your sonnes in lawe, and your sonnes by them, and that you will restore unto us oure fathers, oure brethern, oure kinsefolkes and friends, without spoyling us of oure husbands, of our children, and of our joyes, and thereby make us woefull captives and prisoners in oure mindes. These requestes and persuasions by Hersilia, and other the Sabyne women being heard, bothe the armies stayed, and helde everie bodie his hand, and straight the two generalles imparled together. During which parle they brought their husbands and their children, to their fathers and their brethern. They brought meate and drincke for them that would eate. They dressed up the woundes of those that were hurte. They caried them home with them to their houses. They shewed them howe

The wordes of Hersilia and other Sabyne women unto both armies.

Romulus and Tatius imparle together.

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ROMULUS

they were mistresses there with their husbands. They made them see howe greately they were accompted of and esteemed: yea howe with a wedlocke love and reputation they were honored. So in the end peace was concluded betwene them, wherein it was articled, that the Sabyne women which would remaine with their husbands should tarye still, and be exempted from all worke or service (as above recited) save only spinning of wolle. And that the Sabynes and Romaines should dwell together in the cittie, which should be called Roma, after Romulus name: and the inhabitants should be called Quirites, after the name of the cittie of Tatius king of the Sabynes, and that they should reigne and governe together by a comon consent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this daye Comitium: bicause that *Coire*, in the Latine tongue signifieth 'to assemble.' So the cittie being augmented by the one halfe, they dyd choose of the Sabynes another hundred new Patricians, unto the first hundred of the Romaines that were chosen before. Then were the Legions made of sixe thousand footemen, and six hundred horsemen. After they divided their inhabitants into three Tribes, wherof those that came of Romulus, were called Ramnenses after his name: those that came of Tatius were called Tatienses after his name: and those that were of the third stocke, were called Lucerenses, as from the Latine word *Lucus*, called with us a grove in English, bicause thither great number of people of all sortes dyd gather, which afterwards were made citizens of Rome. The very worde of *Tribus* (which signifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) dothe witnesse this beginning of Rome from wards, or hundreds. For hereupon the Romaines call those at this daye, their Tribunes, which are the chiefe heades of the people. But every one of these principall wardes had afterwards ten other particular wards under them, which some thincke were called after the names of the thirtie Sabyne women that were ravished: but that semeth false, bicause many of them cary the names of the places they came from. Howbeit at that time many things were stablished and ordeined in honour of women: as to geve them place, the upper hande in meeting them, the upper hande in streets: to speake no

Peace betwene the Romaines and Sabynes.

Quirites why so called.

Comitium.

The Romaine legion. 6000. footemen, 600. horsemen.

The Romaine tribes.

Honours geven to women.

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fowle or dishonest word before them, no man to unraye himselfe, or shew naked before them: that they should not be called before criminall judges sitting upon homicides and murderers: that their children should weare about their necks a kind of a Juell called *Bulla*, facioned in manner like these water bubbles that rise upon the water when it beginneth to raine: and that their gownes should be garded with purple. Now the two Kings dyd not straight conferre together so sone as any occasion of busines was offered them, but either of them dyd first counsell alone with his hundred Senatours, and afterwards they dyd all assemble together. ROMULUS

Tatius dwelt in the place where nowe is the temple of Iuno Moneta: Romulus in the place called at this present, the stayers of the fayer bancke, then the descent of mount Palatine, as they goe to the showe place or great listes, where they saye was somtime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make so great accompt. Romulus one daye desirous to prove his strength, threwe (as it is sayed) a darte from mount Aventine toward mount Palatine. The staffe whereof was of a cornell tree: and the Iron of it entred so deepe into the ground being a lustye fatte soyle, that no man could pul it out, although many proved it, and did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did so nourishe the ende of this staffe, that it tooke roote, and beganne to spread braunches: so that in time it became a fayer great cornell tree, which the successours of Romulus dyd inclose with a walle, and dyd kepe and worshippe it as a very holy thing. If by chaunce any went to see it, and found it looked not freshe and grene, but like a tree withered and dryed awaye for lacke of moysture: he went awaye straight as one affrayed, crying to all he met (and they with him went crying still) in every place, water, water, as it had bene to have quenched a fyre. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with vessels of water, to water and moyste the tree. In the time of Caius Cæsar, who caused the stayers about it to be repayred: they saye the labourers raysing the place, and digging about this cornell tree, dyd by negligence hurte the rootes of the same in suche sorte, as afterwardes it dryed up altogether. Nowe the Sabynes

Tatius and Romulus palaces.

The holy cornell tree.

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ROMULUS

The Sabynes used the Romaines moneths.

receyved the moneths after the manner of the Romaines, whereof we have written sufficiently in the life of Numa. Romulus againe used the Sabynes sheldes: and both he and his people chaunged the facion of their armour and weapons they used. For the Romaines before dyd carye litle sheldes after the facion of the Argives. As for either of their holy dayes and sacrifices, they kept them bothe together, and dyd not take awaye any of them, which either the one or the other people observed before, but they added thereunto some other newe. As that which they call Matronalia, which was instituted in honour of the women, bicause by their meanes peace was concluded. And that also of Carmentalia, in the honour of Carmenta, whom some suppose to be the goddesse of fate or destinie, bicause she hathe rule and power over the nativities of men, by reason whereof, the mothers call upon her often, and reverence her very much. Other saye she was the wife of Evander the Arcadian, who being a prophetesse inspired by the god Phœbus, gave the oracles in verse, wherupon she was surnamed Carmenta, bicause that *Carmina* in Latine signifie verses: for it is of certaintie that her proper name was Nicostrata. Howbeit there are some which geve another manner of derivation and interpretation of this worde Carmenta, which is the liklier to be true: as if they would saye, *Carens mente:* which signifieth 'wanting wit,' for the very furie that taketh them when they are inspired with the propheticall spirite. For in Latine *Carere*, betokeneth 'to lacke': and *Mens*, signifieth 'wit.' As for the feast of Palilia, we have tolde of it before: but the feast of Lupercalia, considering the time of celebrating thereof, it seemeth it is ordeined for a purification. For it is celebrated on the unfortunate dayes of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging dayes. The dayes in the olde time on which they did celebrate the same, were called Februata. But the proper name of the feast, is as much to saye, as the feast of woulves. Wherefore it seemeth to be a feast of great antiquitie, and instituted by the Arcadians which came in with Evander: albeit the name of woulves is as comon to the females, as the males, and so it might perhappes be called, by reason of the woulfe that brought up Romulus.

Feasts, Matronalia, Carmentalia, Carmenta.

Lupercalia.

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For we see those which ronne up and down the cittie that daye, and they call Luperci, doe beginne their course in the very place where they saye Romulus was cast out. Howbeit many things are done, whereof the originall cause were hard now to be conjectured. For goates about a certaine time of the yere are killed, then they bring two young boyes, noble mens sonnes, whose foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloude of the goates that are sacrificed. By and by they drye their forheads with wolle dipped in milke. Then the yong boyes must laughe immediately after they have dried their forheads. That done they cut the goates skinnes, and make thongs of them, which they take in their hands, and ronne with them all about the cittie starck naked (saving they have a clothe before their secrets) and so they strike with these thonges all they mete in their waye. The yonge wives doe never shonne them at all, but are well contented to be striken with them, beleeving it helpeth them to be with childe, and also to be easely delivered. There is another thing yet in this feast, that these Lupercians which ronne about the cittie, doe also sacrifice a dogge. Concerning this feast, the Poet named Butas dothe write somewhat in his elegies, where shewing the occasion of the fond customes and ceremonies of the Romaines, he dothe saye that Romulus after he had slayne Amulius, did runne straight with great joye to the very place where the wolfe gave him and his brother sucke, in memory of which running, he sayeth this feast of Lupercalia was celebrated: and that the noble mens younger sonnes doe runne through the cittie, striking and laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate thongs, in token that Remus and Romulus ranne from Alba unto that place, with their drawen swordes in their hands. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloudy knife, is in remembrance of the daunger they stoode in at that time to have bene slaine. Last of all, the drying of their foreheads with wolle dipped in milke, is in memorie of the milke they sucked of the woulfes. But Caius Acilius writeth, that Remus and Romulus before Rome was built, did happen to lose their beasts on a daye, and after they had made certaine

ROMULUS

The Lupercians doe sacrifice a dogge.

Why the Lupercians ronnethrough the cittie naked.

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prayers unto Faunus for the finding of them, they ranne here and there starcke naked as they went a seeking of them, for feare they should have bene troubled with overmuch heate and sweating. And this is the cause he sayeth, why the Lupercians doe at this daye ronne about naked. And if it be true they make this sacrifice for a purging, a man might saye they might offer up a dogge for that purpose, like as the Græcians in their sacrifices of purgation doe use to carie out all their doggs. And in many places they doe observe this ceremonie, to drive out the doggs, which they call Periscylacismes. Otherwise, if it be of a thanckfullnes to the woulfe that gave Romulus sucke, and saved him from perishing, that the Romaines doe solemnise this feast: it is not impartinent they sacrifice a dogge, bicause he is enemie to the woulves. Onles a man would saye it was to punishe this beast, which troubleth and letteth the Lupercians when they runne. Some saye also it was Romulus, who first instituted it a religion to kepe holy fire, and that first ordeined holie virgines, which are called Vestales: other doe ascribe it to Numa Pompilius. Notwithstanding it is most certaine otherwise, that Romulus was a very devoute man, and greatly skilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cause he did ordinarilie carie the angurs crooked staffe, called in Latin *Lituus*. It is a rodde crooked at the end, wherewith the augurs or soothsayers when they sit down to behold the flying of birds, doe poynte out and marke the quarters of the heaven. They carefully kept it within the pallace: howbeit it was lost in the time of warres with the Gaules, when the cittie of Rome was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chased and driven out, it was founde againe (as it is sayed) all whole, within a great hill or heape of ashes, having no manner of hurte, where all things els about it had bene consumed and marred with the fire. He is sayd to have made certaine lawes, among which there is one that seemeth somewhat harde, which is: that the man is suffered to put awaye his wife, and in some case to geve her nothing: and like libertie is not geven to the wife to put awaye her husband. As if she maye be proved to have consented to the poysoning of her

The Vestall Nunnes and holy fire instituted by Romulus.

Lituus.

Romulus lawes.

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children, or to have counterfaited her husbands keyes, or to have committed adulterie. But if he put her awaye for any other cause, then the one halfe of the goodes is adjuged to the wife, and the other moytie to the goddesse Ceres: and he that putteth away his wife after this sorte, is commanded further, to sacrifice to the goddes of the earth. This also was notable in Romulus, who having ordeined no payne nor punishement for parricides (that is for those that kill their parents) called yet all murder parricide, to shewe how detestable that murder was, and as for parricides, he thought it unpossible. And it seemed a great while, he had reason to thincke so, that such wickednes would never happen in the worlde. For in sixe hundred yeres together it was not knowen that any man in Rome committed suche an offence: and the first parricide with them was Lucius Ostius, after the warres of Hannibal. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the first yere of the reigne of Tatius, some of his kynsemen and friendes met by chaunce on the waye certaine ambassadours, comming from the citie of Laurentum unto Rome, whom they set upon, and ment to have robbed them. The ambassadours resisting them, and not willing to deliver their money, they made no more a doe, but slewe them. This haynous deede being thus committed, Romulus was of opinion they shoulde be executed openly in the highe waye for example. But Tatius deferred it still from daye to daye, and dyd allwayes excuse the matter unto him, which was the only cause, they fell out one with the other. For in all things els, they caried them selves as honestly as might be the one to the other, ruling and governing together, with a common consent and good accorde. But the parents and kynsefolkes of those who were murdered, when they sawe they could have no justice bicause of Tatius: watched him one daye as he sacrificed with Romulus, in the cittie of Lavinium, and stabbed him in, without offering Romulus any violence, but rather praysed him for a good and righteous prince. Romulus caused the bodye of Tatius to be straight taken up, and buried him very honorably in mount Aventine, about the place nowe called Armilustrium. Further he never shewed any countenaunce to revenge his

ROMULUS

Parricides.

No parricide knowen in Rome sixe hundred yeres together.

Lucius Ostius the first man that slewe his owne father at Rome.

Ambassadours slaine comming to Rome.

The death of Tatius in Lavinium.

Armilustrium.

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ROMULUS death. There are some Historiographers that write, that those of the cittie of Laurentum being afeard at this murder, dyd deliver forthwith to Romulus the murderers of the ambassadours. He notwithstanding dyd let them goe againe, saying: one murder was requited by another. This gave some occasion of speache to thincke, he was glad he was rydde of his companion: yet the Sabynes neither sturred nor rebelled for all this, but some of them were affrayed of him for the great love they bare him, other for his power he was of, and other for the honour they gave him as a god, continuing still in duetie and obedience towards him. Divers straungers also had Romulus valiancie in great honour: as amongest other, those who then were called the auncient Latines, which sent ambassadours to him to make league and amitie with him. He devised to take the cittie of Fidena which was nere neighbour to Rome. Some saye he tooke it upon a sodaine, having sent before certen horse men to breake downe the hookes and hingewes with force, which the gates hang by: and him selfe came after the rest of his armie, and stale upon them, before the cittie mistrusted any thing. Other write that the Fidenates first invaded his countrye, and foraged unto the very suburbes of Rome, where they did great harme: and howe Romulus layed an ambushe in their waye as they returned home, and slewe a great number of them. When he tooke their cittie, he did not rase it, but made a colonye of it, (as a place to send the overincrease of Rome unto) whither he sent afterwards two thousand five hundred Romains to inhabite there: and it was on the thirtenth daye of Aprill, which the Romaines call the Ides of the same moneth. Not long after there rose suche a great plague in Rome, that men died sodainely, and were not sicke: the earth brought forth no fruite: bruite beasts delivered no increase of their kynde: there rayned also droppes of bloude in Rome, as they saye. In so much as besides the evills men felt in this extremitie, they fell in a marveilous feare of the wrathe of the goddes. Afterwards perceiving the like happened to the inhabitants of Laurentum, then every man judged it was the very vengeance and heavie hand of the goddes, who plagued and punished these two

The Sabines obedience to Romulus.

Romulus tooke the cittie of Fidena.

Plague at Rome.

It rained bloude at Rome.

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citties for the murder committed upon Tatius, and the ambassadours that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both sides were apprehended, and executed: and these plagues by and by ceased both in the one and in the other cittie. Romulus besides, did purifie the cities with certaine sacrifices that he devised, which they keepe still at this daye, at the gate called Ferentina. But before the plague ceased, the Camerines came to assaulte the Romaines, and had overcomen all the countrie, supposing they should not be able to withstand them, bicause they had bene so sore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithstanding, Romulus set up on them with his army, and wanne the field of them, in which conflict there were slaine about sixe thousand men. After the battell done, he tooke their cittie, and conveyed to Rome the one half of the inhabitants that remained. After this, he sent twise as many Romaines as there were naturall Camerians left at Camerine, to dwell there among them. This was done the first daye of August: so great was the multitude of the inhabitants of Rome that had increased in sixteene yeres from the first foundation of the cittie. Among other spoyles he got there, he caried away a charret of brasse with foure horses, which he caused to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, and his owne statue upon it, and victorie crowning him with a garland triumphant. His power being growen thus greate, his weake neighbours did submit themselves unto him, being contented to live in peace by him. His stronger neighbours were affrayed of him, and envied much his greatnes, and dyd take it no good policie to suffer him thus to rise in the face of the world, and thought it meete spedilie to dawnte his glorie, and clippe his winges. The first of the Thuscans that bent their power against him, were the Veians, who had a great countrie, and dwelled in a stronge and mightie cittie. To picke a quarrell to him, they sent to have redelivered to them the cittie of Fidena, which they sayed belonged unto them. This was thought not only unreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, considering that all the while the Fidenates were in warre, and daunger, the Thuscans never came to their ayde, but had suffered them to be slayne, and then came to demaunde their

Camerium taken of Romulus.

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ROMULUS

lands and tenements, when other had possession of them. Therefore Romulus having geven them an aunswer full of mockerie, and derision, they divided their power into two armies, and sent the one against them of Fidena, and with the other they marched towards Rome. That which went against the cittie of Fidena, prevayled, and killed there two thousand Romaines: the other was overthrowen and discomfited by Romulus, in which there dyed eight thousand Veians. Afterwards, they met againe somewhat neere the cittie of the Fidenates, where they fought a battell: and all dyd confesse, the chiefest exployte was done by Romulus owne hands that daye, who shewed all the skill and valliantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy captaine. It seemed that daye, he farre exceeded the common sorte of men, in strength of bodye and feates of armes. Nevertheles that which some saye, is hardely to be credited: and to be plaine, is out of all compasse of beliefe and possibilitie. For they write, there were fourteene thousand men slayne at that battell, and that more then halfe of them were slayne by Romulus own hands: and the rather, for that every man judgeth it a vaine bragge and ostentation which the Messenians reporte of Aristomenes, who offered in sacrifice to the goddes three hundred beastes of victorie, as for so many Lacedæmonians him self had slayne in the battell. Their armie being thus broken, Romulus suffered them to flye who by swiftnes could save them selves, and marched with all his power in good arraye towards their cittie. The cittizens then considering their late great losse and overthrowe, would not hazard the daunger of withstanding him, but went out all together, and made their humble petition and sute for peace. All was graunted them for a hundred yeres, save they should forgoe their territorie called Septemagium, that was the seventh parte of their countrye: and yeld to the Romaines all their salt houses by the rivers side, and deliver fiftie of their chiefest cittizens for their pledges. Romulus made his entrie and triumphe into Rome for them, the daye of the Ides of October, which is the fiftenth daye of the same moneth, leading in his triumphe many prisoners taken in those warres: and among other, the generall of the Veians,

The incredible valiantnes of Romulus.

Romulus maketh peace with the Veians.

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a very auncient man who fondly behaved him selfe in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was farre shorte for his yeres in the warres. And from thence it commeth, when they offer to the goddes to geve thanckes for this victorie, that even at this daye, they bring to the capitoll throughe the market place an old man apparelled in a purple robe, and with a Juell called *Bulla* about his necke, which the gentlemens young children weare about their neckes: and a heraulde goeth harde by him, crying, Who buyeth who, the Sardianians? bicause they holde opnion the Thuscans are come of the Sardianians, and the very cittie of Veies standeth in the countrie of Thuscane. This was the laste warre that Romulus had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wonte to happen almost to all those, who by sodaine prosperitie, and fortunes speciall favour, are raised to highe and great estate. For trusting to prosperitie and good successe of his actes, he beganne to growe more straunge and stately, and to carie a sowerer countenaunce then he was wonte to doe before: leaving to be after his olde manner, a curteous and gracious prince, and gave him selfe in facions to be somwhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and stately porte and majestie that he caried. For he ware ever a coate of purple in graine, and upon that, a longe robe of purple culler: and gave audience, sitting in a wyde chayer of estate, having ever about him young men called Celeres, as we would saye, flights for their swiftnes and speede in executing of his commaundements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were tipstaves in their hands, to make the people geve roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to binde fast streight, all the prince should commaunde. Nowe in olde time the Latines sayed, *Ligare* was 'to binde': but at this present they saye *Alligare*, from whence it commeth that the ushers and sergeants are called *Lictores*. Howbeit me thincks it were more likely to saye, they had put to a *c.* and that before they were called *Litores*, without a *c.* For they be the very same which the Grecians call *Liturgos*, and be in Englishe, ministers or officers: and at this daye, *Leitos*, or *Leos*, in the Greeke tongue signifieth the people. Romulus now after

ROMULUS

Prosperitie, increase of pryde and stomake.

Celeres, Romulus garde.

Lictores, wherefore so called.

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ROMULUS his grandfather Numitor was dead at the cittie of Alba, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the favour of the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Comon weale, and every yere dyd chuse a newe magistrate to minister justice to the Sabynes. This president taught the noble men of Rome to seeke and desire to have a free estate, where no subject should be at the commaundement of a King alone, and where every man should commaund and obey as should be his course. Those which were called Patricians in Rome, dyd medle with nothing, but had onely an honorable name and robe, and were called to counsaill rather for a facion, then to have their advise or counsaile. For when they were assembled together, they dyd onely heare the Kings pleasure and commaundement, but they might not speake one word, and so departed: having no other preheminence over the Common wealthe, saving they were the first that dyd knowe what was done. All other things thereby dyd greve them lesse. But when of his owne mere authoritie, and as it were of him self, he would as pleased him, bestowe the conquered lands of his enemies to his souldiers, and restore againe to the Veians their hostages as he dyd: therein plainely appeared, how great injurie he dyd to the Senate. Whereupon the Senatours were suspected afterwards that they killed him, when with in fewe dayes after it was sayed, he vanished awaye so straungely, that no man ever knewe what became of him. This was on the seventh daye of the moneth nowe called Iuly, which then was named *Quintilis*, leaving no manner of certaintie els of his deathe that is knowen, save only of the daye and the time when he vanished, as we have sayed before. For on that daye, the Romaines doe at this present many things, in remembrance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no marvell, the certaintie of his deathe was not knowen: seeing Scipio Africanus was founde after supper dead in his house, and no man could tell, nor yet dyd know how he dyed. For some saye that he fainted, and dyed sodainely being of weake complexion. Other saye he poysoned him self: other thincke his enemies dyd get secretly in the night into his house, and smoothred him in his bed. Yet they founde his body layed on the

Romulus converteth the kingdome of Alba to a comon weale.

Romulus vanished awaye no man knew howe.

The 17. daye of Iuly an unfortunate daye to the Romaines.

The death of Scipio Africanus.

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ROMULUS

ground, that every body might at leysure consider, if they could finde or conjecture the manner of his death. Howbeit Romulus vanished away sodainely, there was neither seene pece of his garments, nor yet was there found any parte of his body. Therfore some have thought that the whole Senatours fell upon him together in the temple of Vulcan, and how after they had cut him in peces, every one caried awaye a pece of him, folded close in the skyrte of his robe. Other thincke also, this vanishing away was not in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the Senatours only: but they saye that Romulus was at that time without the cittie, neere the place called the goates marshe, where he made an oration to the people, and that sodainely the weather chaunged, and overcast so terribly, as it is not to be tolde nor credited. For first, the sunne was darckned as if it had bene very night: this darcknes was not in a calme or still, but there fell horrible thunders, boysterous windes, and flashing lightnings on every side, which made the people ronne awaye, and scatter here and there, but the Senatours kept still close together. Afterwardes when the lightning was past and gone, the daye cleared up, and the element waxed fayer as before. Then the people gathered together againe, and sought for the King: asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not suffer them to enquire any further after him, but counselled them to honour and reverence him as one taken up into heaven: and that thenceforth in steade of a good King, he would be unto them a mercifull and gratious god. The meaner sorte of people (for the most parte of them) tooke it well, and were very glad to heare thereof: and went their waye worshipping Romulus in their hartes, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the trothe more egerly did comber sore, and troubled the Patricians: accusing them, that they abused the common people with vaine and fonde persuasions, whilest them selves in the meane time had murdered the King with their owne hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, some saye there was one Iulius Proculus, the noblest of all the Patricians, being esteemed for a marvelous honest man, and knowen to have bene very

Divers opinions of Romulus death.

The goate marshe.

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familier with Romulus, and came with him from the cittie of Alba: that stepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greatest and holyest othes a man might sweare) that he had met Romulus on the waye, farre greater and fayerer, then he had seene him ever before, and armed all in white armour, shyning bright like fire: whereat being affrayed in that sorte to see him, he asked him yet: O King, why hast thou thus left and forsaken us, that are so falsely accused and charged to our utter discredit and shame, by thy vanishing. To whom Romulus gave this aunswer. Proculus, it hathe pleased the goddes from whom I came, that I should remaine amongest men so long as I dyd: and nowe having built a cittie, which in glorie and greatnes of empire shalbe the chiefest of the worlde, that I should returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in heaven. Therefore be of good comforte, and tell the Romaines, that they exercising prowesse and temperancie, shalbe the mightiest and greatest people of the worlde. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protectour, and patron, and they shall call me Quirinus. These wordes seemed credible to the Romaines, aswell for the honesty of the man that spake them, as for the solemne othes he made before them all. Yet I wote not how, some celestiall motion, or divine inspiration helped it much: for no man sayed a word against it. And so all suspition and accusation layed aside, every man began to call upon Quirinus, to praye unto him, and to worshippe him. Truely this tale is much like the tales that the Grecians tell of Aristeas the proconnesian, and of Cleomedes the Astypalæian. For they saye, that Aristeas dyed in a fullers worke house, and his friends comming to carie awaye his bodye, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: and at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his waye towards the cittie of Crotona. It is sayed also that Cleomedes was more then a man naturally strong and great, and therewithall madde, and furious hastie. For after many desperate partes he had played, he came at the last on a daye into a schoole house full of litle children, the roofe wherof was borne with one piller, which he dyd hit

Iulius Proculus met with Romulus after his vanishing.

Romulus oracle unto Proculus.

Romulus called Quirinus, and honored as a god.

Aristeas a Proconnesian taken out of mens sight after he was dead.

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with so terrible a blowe of his fiste, that he brake it in the middest, so as the whole roofe fell and dashed the poore children in peces. The people ranne straight after him to take him. But he threwe him selfe forthwith into a chest, and pulled the lyd upon him. He helde it so fast downe, that many striving together all they could to open it, they were not able once to styrre it. Whereupon they brake the chest all in peces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were marveilously amazed, and sent to Apollo Pythias, where the prophetesse aunswered them in this verse: ROMULUS

Cleomedes Astypalensis vanished straungely out of mens sights, being fast locked in a chest.

Cleomedes the last of the demy goddes.

The reporte goeth also that Alcmenes corse dyd vanishe awaye, as they caried it to buriall, and howe in steade thereof they founde a stone layed in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other suche wonders, that are farre from any apparance of trothe: only bicause they would make men to be as goddes, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reprove and denie divine power, it were a lewde and wicked parte: even so to compare earthe and heaven together, it were a mere follie. Therefore we must let suche fables goe, being most certaine that as Pindarus sayeth it is true.

Alcmenes body vanished out of the beere.

Eche living corps, must yelde at last to deathe,
and every life must leese his vitall breathe:
The soule of man, that onely lives on hie,
and is an image of eternitie.

The soul eternall.

For from heaven it came, and thither againe it dothe returne, not with the bodye, but then soonest, when the sowle is furthest of and separated from the bodye, and that she is kept holy, and is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the philosopher Heraclitus ment, when he sayed: The drye light, is the best soule which flyeth out of the bodye, as lightning dothe out of the clowde: but that which is joyned with the bodye being full of corporall passions, is a grosse vapour, darke and massie, and cannot flame, ryse or shoote out like lightning. We must not beleeve therefore, that the bodyes of noble and vertuous men, doe goe up

Heraclitus saying of the soule.

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ROMULUS

together with their soules into heaven, against the order of nature. But this we are certainely to beleeve, that by the vertues of their soules (according to divine nature and justice) they doe of men become saincts, and of saincts halfe goddes, and of halfe goddes, entier and perfect goddes: after that they are perfectly (as it were by sacrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being delivered from all paine and mortalitie, and not by any civill ordinance, but in trothe and reason, they receave a most happie and glorious ende. Now touching Romulus surname, which afterwards was called Quirinus: some saye that it signifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was so called bicause the Romaines them selves were called Quirites. Other write, that men in olde time did call the poynte of a speare, on the darte it self, *Quiris:* by reason whereof the image of Iuno surnamed Quiritides, was set up with an iron speare, and the speare which was consecrated in the Kings pallace, was called Mars. Furthermore it is an use amongest men, to honour them with a speare or darte, which have shewed them selves valiant in the warres: and that for this cause Romulus was surnamed Quirinus, as who would saye, god of the speares and warres. There was since buylt a temple unto him, in the hill called Quirinus, and so named of him. The daye whereon he vanished, is called the flying of the people, or otherwise the Nones of the goates. For on that daye, they goe out of the cittie to doe sacrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the goates marshe: and the Romaines call a goate, *Capra.* As they goe thus together, they call with lowde showtes and cryes upon divers Romaines names, as Marcus, Cneus, and Gaius, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another backe againe, as they ranne awaye in great feare and disorder. Howbeit other saye, that it is not done to shewe the ronning awaye, but to shewe their spede and diligence, and referre it to the storie. Nowe after the Gaules that had taken Rome were expulsed by Camillus, the cittie was so weakned, that they could scante recover their force and strength againe: wherfore many of the Latines joyning together, went with a great mightie armie, under the conducte of Livius Posthumius, to warre against

Why Romulus was called Quirinus.

The hill Quirinus.

Nonæ Capratinæ.

The warre of the Latines.

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the Romaines. This Posthumius brought his campe as neere the cittie of Rome as he could, and sent to the Romaines by a trumpet to let them understand, how the Latines were desirous by newe mariages, to restore their olde auncient amitie and kinred that was neere hand decayed betweene them: and therefore if the Romaines would send them a convenient number of their daughters and young widowes to marie with them, they should have peace, as they had before time with the Sabynes, upon the like occasion. The Romaines hereat were sore troubled, thincking that to deliver their women in such sorte was no better, then to yelde and submit them selves to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a wayting mayde called Philotis (or as other call her, Tutola) gave them counsell to doe neither the one nor the other, but to use a pollicy with them, by meanes whereof they should scape the daunger of the warres, and should also not be tyed nor bounde by any pledges. The devise was, they should send to the Latines her selfe, and a certaine number of their fayrest bonde maydes, trimmed up like gentlewomen and the best cittizens daughters, and that in the night she would lifte them up a burning torche in the ayer, at which signe they should come armed, and set upon their enemies as they laye a sleepe. This was brought to passe: and the Latines thought verely they had bene the Romaines daughters. Philotis fayled not in the night to lyft up her signe, and to shewe them a burning torche in the toppe of a wilde figge tree: and dyd hange certaine coverlets and clothes behinde it, that the enemies might not see the light, and the Romaines contrariwise might decerne it the better. Thereupon so sone as the Romaines sawe it, they ranne with all spede, calling one another by their names, and issued out of the gates of the cittie with great haste: and so tooke their enemies upon a sodaine, and slewe them. In memorie of which victorie, they doe yet solemnise the feaste called the Nones of the goates, bicause of the wilde figge tree called in Latine *Caprificus*. And they doe feast the women without the cittie, under shadowes made of the boughe of figge trees. The wayting maydes, they ronne up and downe, and playe here and there together. After-

ROMULUS

Livius Posthumius generall.

Philotis a wayting maydes sodaine devise.

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wards they seeme to fight, and throwe stones one at another, as then they dyd when they holpe the Romaines in their fight. But fewe writers doe avowe this tale, bicause it is on the daye time that they call so eche other by their names, and that they goe to the place which they call the goates marshe, as unto a sacrifice. It seemeth this agreeth better with the first historie when they called one another by their names in the night, going against the Latines: onles peradventure these two thinges after many yeres happened upon one daye. Furthermore, they saye Romulus was taken out of the world, when he was foure and fiftie yeres of age, and had raigned eight and thirtie yeres by accompt.

Romulus age and raigne.

THE COMPARISON OF THEUSEUS WITH ROMULUS

THUS have we declared all things of Theseus and Romulus worthy memorie. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth first that Theseus of his owne voluntarie will, without compulsion of any (when he might with safety have reigned in the cittie of Trœzen, and succeeded his grandfather in no small kingdome) dyd desire of him selfe, and rather sought meanes to aspire to great things: and that Romulus on the other side, to deliver him self from bondage and servitude that laye sore upon him, and to escape the threatned punishment which still dyd hange over his head, was certainely compelled (as Plato sayeth) to shewe him selfe hardie for feare: who seeing howe extremely he was like to be handled, was of very force constrained to seeke adventure, and hazarde the enterprise of atteining highe and great things. Moreover the chiefest acte that ever he dyd was, when he slewe one onely tyranne of the cittie of Alba called

By what meanes men are provoked to great enterprises.

Plato in *Phædone.*

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Amulius: where Theseus in his jorney only, as he travelled, gave his minde to greater enterprises, and slewe Sciron, Sinnis, Procrustes, and Corynetes. And by ridding them out of the worlde, he delivered Grece of all those cruell tyrannes, before any of those knewe him whom he had delivered from them. Furthermore, he might have gone to Athens by sea, and never needed to have travelled, or put him selfe in daunger with these robbers, considering he never receyved hurte by any of them: where as Romulus could not be in safetie whilest Amulius lived. Hereupon it maye be alledged, that Theseus unprovoked by any private wronge or hurte receyved, dyd set upon these detestable theves and robbers: Remus and Romulus contrariwise, so longe as the tyranne dyd them no harme, dyd suffer him to oppresse and wronge all other. And if they alledge these were noble dedes, and worthy memorie: that Romulus was hurte fighting against the Sabynes, and that he slewe king Acron with his owne handes, and that he had overcome and subdued many of his enemies. Then for Theseus on thother side may be objected, the battell of the Centauri, the warres of the Amazones, the tribute due to the king of Creta: and howe he ventered to goe him selfe thither with the other young boyes and wenches of Athens, as willingly offering him selfe to be devowred by a cruell beaste, or els to be slayne and sacrificed upon the tumbe of Androgeus, or to become bondslave and tyed in captivitie to the vile service of cruell men and enemies, if by his corage and manhodde he could not deliver him self. This was such an acte of magnanimitie, justice and glorie, and briefly of so great vertue, that it is unpossible truely to be set out. Surely me thinckes the philosophers dyd not ill define love, when they sayd she was a servitour of the goddes, to save younge folkes, whom they thought meete to be preserved. For, the love of Ariadne was in mine opinion the worke of some god, and a meane purposely prepared for Theseus safety. Therefore the woman is not to be reproached nor blamed for the love she bare Theseus, but rather it is muche to be wondred at, that every man and woman in like wise dyd not love him. And if of her selfe she fell in love with him, I

Love the minister of the goddes.

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THESEUS AND ROMULUS

saye (and not without cause) she afterwards deserved to be beloved of a god, as one that of her owne nature loved valiantnes and honour, and entertained men of singuler value. But both Theseus and Romulus being naturally geven to rule and raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a King, but bothe of them dyd degenerate alike: the one chaunging him self into a popular man, the other to a very tyranne. So that by sundrie humours, they both fell into one mischief and errour. For a prince above all things must keepe his estate: which is no lesse preserved by doing nothing uncomely, as by doing all things honorably. But he that is more severe or remisse then he should be, remaineth now no more a King or a prince, but becommeth a people pleaser, or a cruell tyrante: and so causeth his subjects to despise or hate him. Yet me thinckes the one is an errour of to muche pittie and basenes: and the other of to muche pryde and crueltie. But if we maye not charge fortune with all mischaunces happening unto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diversities of manners and passions, seeing anger is unreasonable, and wrathe rashe and passionate: then can we not clere the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the facte committed by the one against his brother, and by the other against his naturall sonne. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth muche excuse Theseus, who moved with the greatest cause that might be, was put into suche choller and passion. But if Romulus variaunce with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counsell, or cause of the common weales: there is none so simple to thincke, that his wisdome would so sodainely have set upon him. Where as Theseus in contrarie manner killed his sonne, provoked by those passions that fewe men can avoyde: to wit, love, jelousie, and false reporte of his wife. Moreover Romulus anger went to the effect, whereof the issue fell out very lamentable: Theseus anger stretched no further, then to roughe wordes, and olde folkes curses in their heate. For it seemeth, cursed fortune, and nought els, was the cause of his sonnes only mishappe, as forespoken and wished for somewhat by his father. These be the

The office of a prince.

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speciall things maye be alledged for Theseus. But for Romulus this was a noble thing in him. First his beginning being very lowe and meane, and his brother and he taken for bonde men, and the children of hoggeheards, before they were them selves all free, they set at libertie in manner all the Latines, winning at one instant many titles of glorie and honour: as distroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of newe citties, and no overthrowers of the olde, where as Theseus of many habitations and houses made onely one, and dyd overthrowe and plucke downe divers states, bearing the names of auncient Kings, princes, and halfe goddes of Attica. All these also dyd Romulus afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had overcome, to distroye their owne houses, and to come and dwell with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he never chaunged nor increased any cittie that was buylt before, but buylt him selfe a newe cittie out of the grounde, getting all together, land, countrie, kingdome, kinred and mariages, without losing or killing any man: and to the contrarie, rather he dyd good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrie, lands, nor houses, and desired nothing els but to make a people amongest them, and to become cittizens of some cittie. Also Romulus bent not him selfe to follow theeves and robbers, but subdued by force of armes many mightie and puissant people: he tooke citties, and triumphed over Kings and Princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murder of Remus, it is not certainely knowen of whose hands he dyed. The most parte of authors doe charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that Romulus delivered his mother from apparant death, and restored his grandfather to the royall throne of Æneas, who before was deposed and brought from a King to servill obedience, without any regarde of honour or dignitie: to whom he dyd many moe great pleasures and services. Besides he never offended him willingly, no not so muche as ignorantly. Contrarylie I thincke of Theseus, who fayling by negligence to put out his white sayle at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, howe eloquent an oration soever could be made for his

Wherein Romulus was to be preferred before Theseus.

Romulus love to his kynne.

Theseus detected for oblivion.

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excuse: yea though it were before the most favorable judges that could be. Wherefore an Athenian very well perceyving that it was an harde thing to excuse and defend so fowle a faulte, dothe fayne that the good olde man Ægeus having newes brought him that his sonnes shippe was at hand, dyd ronne in so great haste to his castell, to see his sonne arrive a farre of, that as he ranne, his foote hit against some thing, and overthrewe him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that never a man seeing him ronne so hastely to the sea side, dyd make haste to attende and wayte upon him. Furthermore, Theseus faults touching women and ravishements, of the twaine, had the lesse shadowe and culler of honestie. Bicause Theseus dyd attempt it very often: for he stale awaye Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the Trœzenian. Againe being stepped in yeres, and at later age, and past mariage: he stale awaye Helen in her minoritie, being nothing neere to consent to marye. Then his taking of the daughters of the Trœzenians, of the Lacedæmonians, and the Amazones (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birthe and linadge of his owne countrie which were at Athens, and descended of the noble race and progenie of Erichtheus, and of Cecrops) dyd geve men occasion to suspect that his womannishenes was rather to satisfie lust, then of any great love. Romulus nowe in a contrarie manner, when his people had taken eight hundred, or thereabouts, of the Sabyne women to ravishe them: kept but onely one for him selfe that was called Hersilia, as they saye, and delivered the reste to his best and most honest cittizens. Afterwardes by the honour, love, and good entertainment that he caused them to have and receyve of their husbands, he chaunged this violent force of ravishement, into a most perfect bonde and league of amitie: which dyd so knyt and joyne in one these two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall love which grewe afterwards betwext those two people, and consequently of the joyning of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath geven a good testimonie of the love, reverence, constancie, kyndenes, and all matrimoniall offices that he established by that meanes, betwext

Theseus detected for his ravishements of women.

Romulus ravishement of women excused.

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THESEUS AND ROMULUS

man and wife. For in two hundred and thirtie yeres afterwards, there was never man that durst forsake or put awaye his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the Grecians, the best learned men, and most curious observers of antiquities doe knowe his name, that was the first murderer of his father or mother: even so all the Romaines knewe what he was, which first durst put away his wife. It was one called Spurius Carvilius, bicause his wife was barren and had no children. The effects also doe agree with the testimonie of the time. For the Realme was common unto Kings of both nations, and through the alliance of these mariages that beganne first of ravishements, both nations lived peaciblie, and in equalitie, under one civill policie, and well governed common weale. The Athenians contrariewise, by Theseus mariages, dyd get neither love nor kynred of any one persone, but rather they procured warres, enmities, and the slaughter of their cittizens, with the losse in the ende of the cittie of Aphidnes: and yet very hardely, and by the mercie of their enemies (whom they honored as godds) they escaped for him, the daunger which the Troians suffered afterwards, for the self acte done by Alexander Paris. So it fell out at the last, that his mother was not only in daunger, but even feelingly suffered like miserie and captivitie, which Hecuba dyd afterwards, when she was forsaken of her sonne: onles peradventure those things that they write of the imprisonment and captivitie of Æthra, be founde false, and but fables, as for the fame and memorie of Theseus were behovefull, that both it, and many other things also, were of no more trothe nor likelyhood. That which they write of Romulus divinements, maketh great difference betwene him and Theseus. For Romulus in his birthe was preserved by the marvelous favour of the goddes: Theseus to the contrarie, was begotten against the goddes will, as appeared plainely by the aunswer of the oracle to Ægeus, that he should not medle with any woman in straunge and foraine countrie.

No divorce made in Rome for 230 yeres space. Val. Max. sayeth 520.

The first wife put awaye in Rome.

Theseus mariages cause of warres and troubles.

Romulus more acceptable to the godds then Theseus.

THE ENDE OF ROMULUS LIFE

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LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE LIFE OF LYCURGUS

MAN can not speake any thing at all of Lycurgus, who made the lawes of the Lacedæmonians, but he shall finde great contrarietie of him amongest the historiographers. For, of his parentage and travaill out of his countrie, of his deathe and making of lawes, of his forme and government, and order of executing the same, they have written diversely. And yet above all things, concerning him, they agree worst about the time he lived in. For some of them (and Aristotle is of that number) will needes have him to have bene in the time of Iphytus, and that he dyd helpe him to stablish the ordinaunce that all warres should cease during the feast of the games olympicall: for a testimonie whereof, they alledge the copper coyte which was used to be throwen in those games, and had founde graven upon it, the name of Lycurgus. Other compting the dayes and time of the succession of the kings of Lacedæmon (as Eratosthenes, and Apollodorus) saye he was many yeres before the first Olympiades. Timæus also thincketh there were two of this name, and in divers times: howbeit the one having more estimation then the other, men gave this Lycurgus the glorie of both their doings. Some saye the eldest of the twaine, was not longe after Homer: and some write they sawe him. Xenophon sheweth us plainely he was of great antiquitie: saying he was in the time of the Heraclides, who were neerest of bloude by descent to Hercules. For it is likely Xenophon ment not those Heraclides, which descended from Hercules self: for the last kings of Sparta were of Hercules progenie, aswell as the first. Therefore he meaneth those Heraclides, which doubtles were the first and nearest before Hercules time. Nevertheles though the historiographers have written diversely of him, yet we will not leave to collect that which

Xenophon *in lib. de Lacedæmon. Rep.*

Of the Heraclides, Pausanias, Diodorus, and Cleme. *Strom.* lib. 1.

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we finde written of him in auncient histories, and is least to be denied, and by best testimonies most to be prooved. And first of all, the poet Simonides sayeth, his father was called Prytanis and not Eunomus; and the most parte doe write the pettigree otherwise, aswell of Lycurgus self, as of Eunomus. For they saye, that Patrocles the sonne of Aristodemus begate Sous, and Sous begate Eurytion, and Eurytion begate Prytanis, and Prytanis begat Eunomus, and Eunomus begat Polydectes of his first wife, and Lycurgus of the second wife, called Dianassa: yet Euthychidas an other writer, maketh Lycurgus the sixte of descent in the right line from Polydectes, and the eleventh after Hercules. But of all his auncesters, the noblest was Sous, in whose time the cittie of Sparta subdued the Ilotes, and made them slaves, and dyd enlarge and increase their dominion, with the lands and possessions they had got by conquest of the Arcadians. And it is sayed that Sous him self being on a time straightly besieged by the Clitorians, in a hard drye grounde, where no water could be founde: offered them thereupon to restore all their lands againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his companie dyd drincke of a fountaine that was there not farre of. The Clitorians did graunte unto it, and peace also was sworne betweene them. Then he called all his souldiers before him, and tolde them if there were any one amongest them that would refrayne from drincking, he would resigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his companie that could (or would) forbeare to drincke, they were so sore a thirst. So they all drancke hartely except him self, who being the last that came downe, dyd no more but a litle moyste his mowthe without, and so refreshed him self, the enemies selves standing by, and drancke not a droppe. By reason whereof, he refused afterwards to restore their lands he had promised, alledging they had not all droncke. But that notwithstanding, he was greately esteemed for his actes, and yet his house was not named after his owne name: but after his sonnes name Eurytion, they of his house were called Eurytionides. The reason was, bicause his sonne Eurytion to please the people, dyd first let fall and geve over, the sole and absolute power

LYCURGUS

Lycurgus kinred.

A subtill promise.

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LYCURGUS

of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwardes marveilous disorder and dissolution, which continued a great time in the cittie of Sparta. For the people finding them selves at libertie, became very bolde and disobedient: and some of the Kinges that succeeded, were hated even to deathe, bicause they woulde perforce use their auncient authoritie over the people. Other, either to winne the love and goodwilles of the people, or bicause they sawe they were not stronge enough to rule them, dyd geve them selves to dissemble. And this dyd so muche increase the peoples lose and rebellious mindes, that Lycurgus owne father being Kinge, was slayne among them. For one daye, as he was parting a fraye betweene two that were fighting, he had suche a wounde with a kytchin knyfe, that he dyed: and left his Realme to his eldest sonne Polydectes, who dyed also sone after, and without heyre of his bodye as was supposed. In so muche as every man thought Lycurgus should be Kinge: and so he tooke it upon him, untill it was understoode that his brothers wife was younge with childe. Which thing so soone as he perceyved, he published openly, that the Realme belonged to the childe that should be borne, if it were a sonne. After this he governed the Realme, but as the Kings lieutenante and regent. The Lacedæmonians call the regents of their Kinges that are left within age, Prodicos. Lycurgus brothers widowe dyd send, and let him secretly understande, that if he would promise to marye her when he should be King, that she would come before her time, and either miscarye, or destroye that she went with. Lycurgus detestably abhorring this brutishe and savage unnaturallnes of the woman, dyd not reject her offer made him, but seemed rather to be very glad, then to dislike of it. Nevertheles he sent her worde againe, she should not neede to trye masteryes, with drinckes and medicines to make her come before her time: for so doing, she might bring her selfe in daunger, and be cast awaye for ever. Howbeit he advised her to goe her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, and then he would finde meanes enough to make awaye the childe that should be borne. And so with suche persuasions he drewe

Prodicos, Regents, or protectours of yong Kings in minoritie.

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on this woman to her full time of deliverie. But so soone as he perceyved she was neere her time, he sent certaine to keepe her, and to be present at her laboure, commaunding them that if she were brought a bed of a daughter, they should leave her with the woman: and if it were a sonne, they should forthwith bring it to him, in what place soever he was, and what busines soever he had in hand. It chaunced that she came even about supper time, and was delivered of a sonne. As he was sitting at the table with the other magistrates of the cittie, his servants entred the halle, and presented to him the litle babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes, and sayed openly to them that were present: Beholde my lordes of Sparta, here is a Kinge borne unto us. And speaking these wordes, he layed him downe in the Kinges place, and named him Charilaus, as muche to saye, as the joye of the people. Thus he sawe all the lookers on rejoycing muche, and might heare them prayse and extoll his synceritie, justice, and vertue. By this meanes he raigned only as King, but eight moneths. From thenceforth he was taken and esteemed so just and syncere a man among the cittizens, that there were moe that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the Kings regent, or that he had the government of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithstanding there were some that bare him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder and disgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends and kinred of the Kings mother: whose power and honour were thought much impayred by Lycurgus authoritie. In so much, as a brother of hers called Leonidas, entring boldly into great words with him on a daye, dyd not sticke to say to his face, I knowe for a certaintie one of these dayes thou wilt be King: meaning thereby to bring him in suspition with the cittizens. Which thing though Lycurgus never ment, yet of a subtill and craftie wit Leonidas thought by geving out such words, that if the young King happened to dye in his minoritie naturally, it would be mistrusted that Lycurgus had secretly made him awaye. The Kings mother also gave out such like speaches, which in the end dyd so trouble him, with the feare he had, what event might fall out thereof: that he

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Charilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, *Herod.* lib. 1. *Dionysius Halic.* lib. 2.

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LYCURGUS

Lycurgus travelled countryes.

determined to departe his countrie, and by his absence to avoyde the suspition that therein might growe upon him any waye. So he travelled abroade in the worlde as a straunger, untill his nephew had begotten a sonne who was to succeede him in his kingdome. He having with this determination taken his jorney, went first of all into Creta, where he diligently observed and considered the manner of their living, the order of the government of their Common weale, and ever kept company with the best, and ever was conferring with the most learned. There he founde very good lawes in his judgement, which he noted of purpose to carie home to his countrie, to serve when time should come. He founde there other lawes also, but of them he made no reckoning. Nowe there was one man that above the rest was reputed wise and skilfull in matters of state and government, who was called Thales: with whom Lycurgus dyd so much by intreatie, and for familier friendshippe, that he persuaded him to goe with him unto Sparta. This Thales was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title and name: but in effect he sange all that the best and sufficientest governours of the worlde could devise. For all his songes were goodly ditties, wherein he dyd exhorte and persuade the people to live under obedience of the law, in peace and concorde one with the other. His words were set out with such tunes, countenance, and accents, that were so full of swetenes, harmony, and pearsing: that inwardly it melted mens heartes, and drue the hearers of a love to like the most honest things, and to leave all hatred, enmitie, sedition, and division, which at that time reigned sore among them. So as it may be sayed, he it was that prepared the waye for Lycurgus, whereby he afterwards reformed and brought the Lacedæmonians unto reason. At his departing out of Creta, he went into Asia, with intent (as it is sayed) to compare the manner of life and pollicie of those of Creta (being then very straight and severe) with the superfluities and vanities of Ionia: and thereupon to consider the difference betwene their two manners and governments, as the physitian doth, who to knowe the hole and healthfull the better, doth use to compare them with the

Thales a poet harper.

Lycurgus jorney into Asia.

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sicke and diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first sawe Homers works, in the hands of the heires and successours of Cleophylus: and finding in the same, aswell many rules of pollicie, as the great pleasure of Poets faining, he diligently coppied it out, and made a volume thereof to carie into Grece. It is true there was much fame abroad of Homers poesies among the Grecians, howbeit there were fewe of them brought together, but were scattered here and there in divers mens hands, in pampflets and peces unsowed and without any order: but the first that brought them most to light among men, was Lycurgus. The Ægyptians saye, that he was in their countrie also, and that having founde there one notable ordinaunce among other, that their souldiers and men of warre were separated from the rest of the people, he brought the practise of it into Sparta: where setting the marchants, artificers, and labourers every one a parte by them selves, he did establish a noble Common wealth. So the Ægyptian historiographers, and some others also of Grece doe write. He was also in Africke, and in Spayne, and as farre as India, to conferre with the wise men there, that were called the philosophers of India. I knowe no man that hathe written it, saving Aristocrates, that was Hipparchus sonne. The Lacedæmonians wished for him often when he was gone, and sent divers and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or majestie of a prince, whereby they dyd excell the common people. But as for Lycurgus, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to commaund, and to geve order, as having in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to drawe men willingly to obeye him. Moreover the Kings them selves were not unwilling to have him to returne home, bicause they hoped that his presence would somwhat brydle, and restrayne the people from their insolencie and disobedience towards them. Whereupon Lycurgus returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no sooner arrived, but he beganne to devise howe to alter the whole government of the common weale, and throughout to chaunge the whole course and order of the state: thinck-

The prayse of Homers workes.

Homers poemes unknowen to the Grecians, brought to light by Lycurgus.

Lycurgus returneth and chaungeth all the comon wealth.

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LYCURGUS ing that to make only certaine particular lawes were to no purpose, but much like, as one should geve some easie medicine, to purge an overthrowen bodye with all humours and disseases. Therefore he thought first that all grosse and superfluous humours, were meete to be dissolved and purged, and then afterwardes to geve them a new forme and order of government. When he had thus determined with him self, before he would take in hand to doe any thing, he went to the citty of Delphes: where after he had sacrificed to Apollo, he consulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of Pythia: O beloved of the goddes, and rather god then man. Where when he craved grace of Apollo to establishe good lawes in his countrie, it was aunswered him: that Apollo graunted his petition, and that he should ordaine the best and perfectest manner of a Common wealth, that ever had or should be in the worlde. This aunswer dyd comforte him very much, and so he beganne to breake his purpose to certen of the chief of the cittie, and secretly to praye and exhorte them to helpe him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, and after by litle and litle he wanne others to him, who joyned with him in his enterprise. So when he saw the time fit for the matter, he caused thirtie of the chiefest men of the cittie in a morning to come into the market place well appointed and furnished, to suppresse those that would attempt to hinder their purpose. Hermippus the historiographer rehearseth twentie of the chiefest: but he that above all others dyd most assist him in his doings, and was the greatest ayde unto the stablishing of his lawes, was called Arithmiadas. The king Charilaus hearing of this assembly, dyd feare there had bene some conspiracie or insurrection against his person, and for his safety he fled into the temple of Iuno, called Chalcececos, as much to saye, as Iunos brasen temple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the trothe, he waxed bolde, and came out of the temple againe, and he him self favored the enterprise, being a prince of a noble minde, howbeit very soft by nature, as witnesseth Archelaus (that was then the other king of Lacedæmon) by telling how Charilaus aunswered one that praised him to his

Lycurgus counselleth with the oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

Chalcececos, Iunos brasen temple.

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face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be evill to the evill? In this chaunge of the state, many things were altered by Lycurgus, but his chiefest alteration was, his lawe of the erection of a Senate, which he made to have a regall power and equall authoritie with the Kings in matters of weight and importance, and was (as Plato sayeth) to be the healthfull counterpease of the whole bodye of the Common weale. The other state before was ever wavering, somtime inclining to tyrannie, when the Kings were to mightie: and somtime to confusion, when the people would usurpe authoritie. Lycurgus therfore placed betwene the Kings and the people, a counsaill of Senatours, which was as a stronge beame, that helde bothe these extreames in an even ballance, and gave sure footing and ground to either parte, to make strong the state of the comon weale. For the eight and twenty Senatours (which made the whole bodye of the Senate) tooke somtime the Kings parte, when it was nedefull to pull downe the furie of the people: and contrarilie, they held sometimes with the people against the Kings, to bridle their tyrannicall government. Aristotle sayeth, he ordeined the number of Senatours to be but eight and twenty, bicause two of thirtie that joyned with him as a fore, dyd for feare forsake him at his enterprise. Howbeit Sphærus writeth, that from the beginning, he never purposed to have more then eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhappes he had great regard to make it a perfect number, considering it is compounded of the number of seven, multiplied by foure: and is the first perfect number next to sixe, being equall to all partes gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this number rather then any other, bicause he ment the whole bodye of the counsaill should be but thirtie persones, adding to that number, the two Kinges. Lycurgus tooke so great care to establishe well this counsell, that he brought an oracle for it, from Apolloes temple in Delphes. This oracle is called unto this daye *Retra*, as who would saye, the statute oracle: whereof the aunswer was. When thou hast built a temple unto Iupiter the Syllanian, and to Minerva the Syllanian, and devided the people into lineages,

Lycurgus instituteth a Senate of the Lacedæmonians.

Plato *de leg.* 3.

23 were the number of the Senatours.

Retra of Lycurgus.

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LYCURGUS thou shalt stablishe a Senate of thirtie counsellers, with the two Kings: and shalt assemble the people at times convenient, in the place betweene the bridge and the river Cnacion. There the Senatours shall propound all matters, and breake up after their assemblies: and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speake one worde. In those dayes the people were ever assembled betweene two rivers, for there was no hall to assemble a counsaill at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For Lycurgus thought no buylded place meete for men to geve good counsaill in, or to determine causes, but rather a hinderance: bicause in such places men be drawen to muse on vaine things, and their mindes be caried awaye with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, comonly set up for ornament in such open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and sportes be made, they thincke more of them, then any counsaill. Againe, if it be in a great hall, then of the fayer embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretised seelings curiously wrought, and sumptuously set forth, and tend not still their busines they come for. When the people were assembled in counsaill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counsell to be determined, neither might any of them deliver his opinion what he thought of any thinge: but the people had onely authoritie to geve their assent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senatours, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwardes, the two Kings Polydorus and Theopompus, bicause the people dyd many times crosse and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding some thing to it, they dyd adde these wordes to the oracle aforesaid. That if the people would not assent to any ordinaunce of the Senate, then should it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake up the counsell, and to frustrate all things done in the same: the wise advise of the Senate being encountered thus, and their meaning to the best, so perverted to the worse. These two Kings persuaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the oracle of Apollo: as the poet Tyrtæus maketh mention in the place, where he sayeth:

Cnacion fl.

The open fields appointed for place of Counsaill.

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From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought
of Pythia: into their country soyle.
The Kings (even they to whom of right there ought
a loving care in princely breasts to boyle,
the Spartane wealthe, to garde from every spoyle:)
Shalbe the chief, grave causes to decyde
with Senatours: whose sounde advise is tride.
And next to them, the people shall fulfill
asmuche as seemes, to please their princes will.

Lycurgus now having thus tempered the forme of his comon weale, it seemed notwithstanding to those that came after him, that this small number of thirtie persones that made the Senate, was yet to mightie, and of to great authoritie. Wherefore to bridle them in a litle, they gave them (as Plato sayeth) a bytte in their mouths, and that was the authoritie of the Ephores, which signifie as much as comptrollers: and were erected about a hundred and thirtie yeres after the death of Lycurgus. The first which was chosen of these, was Elatus, and it was in the time of king Theopompus, whose wife on a daye in her anger sayed: howe throughe his negligence he would leave lesse to his successours, then he had receyved of his predecessours. To whom he aunswered againe, Not lesse but more, for that it shall continue lenger, and with a more suertie. For, in losing thus their too absolute power, that wrought them great envie and hatred among their cittizens, they dyd escape the daunger and mischief that their neighbours the Argives, and Messenians dyd feele: who would not geve over the soveraine authoritie which they had gotten once. This example maketh Lycurgus great wisdome and foresight manifestly knowen: who so will deeply consider the seditions and ill governements of the Argives, and Messenians (their neere neighbours and kinsemen) aswell from the people, as from the Kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the Spartans: and in deviding of their lands a farre better order then theirs. This notwithstanding, they dyd not prosper longe: but through the pryde of their Kings, and the disobedience of their people, they entred into civill warres one against another, shewing by their disorders and misfortunes the speciall grace the godds dyd beare to

The institution of the Ephores.

Lycurgus wisdome.

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LYCURGUS

Sparta, to geve them such a reformer, as dyd so wisely temper the state of their common weale, as we will shewe hereafter. The second lawe that Lycurgus made, and the boldest and hardest he ever tooke in hande, was the making of a newe division of their lands. For he sawe so great a disorder and unequality among the inhabitants, aswell of the countrie, as of the citie Lacedæmon, by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poore, that they had not a handfull of grounde, and other some being least in number were very riche, that had all: he thought with him self to banishe out of the cittie all insolencie, envie, covetousnes, and deliciousnes, and also all riches and povertie, which he tooke the greatest, and the most continuall plagues of a cittie, or common weale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessarie a meane, as to persuade his cittizens to suffer all the landes, possessions, and inheritance of their countrie, to ronne in common together: and that they should make a newe division equally in partition amongest them selves, to live from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer then another, and none should seeke to go before eache other, any other waye then in vertue only: thincking there should be no difference or unequalitie among inhabitants of one cittie, but the reproaches of dishonestie, and the prayses of vertue. Thus Lycurgus following his determination, dyd out of hande make a lawe of the division of their lands. For first he dyd devide all the countrie of Laconia, into thirtie thousand equall partes, the which he dyd set out for those that inhabited about Sparta: and of those landes that joyned next to the cittie of Sparta, that was the chief metropolitan cittie of Laconia, he made other nine thousand partes, which he devided to the naturall cittizens of Sparta, who be those that are properly called Spartans. Howbeit some will saye, he made but sixe thousand parts, and that king Polydorus afterwards dyd adde to other three thousand partes. Other saye also, that Lycurgus of these nine thousand partes made but the halfe onely, and Polydorus the rest. Every one of these partes was such, as might yelde unto the owner yerely, three score and tenne bushels of barley for a man, and twelve

Lycurgus maketh equall division of landes unto the cittizens.

All the lands throughe the countrie of Laconia, devided into 30000 parts.

All the lands about Sparta into 9000 partes.

What barley every parte did yelde.

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bushels for the woman, and of wine and other liquide fruites, much like in proportion: which quantitie Lycurgus judged to be sufficient, to kepe the bodye of a man in health, and to make him stronge and lustie, without any further allowance. They saye after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came over the lands where wheate had bene reaped not longe before, and sawe the number of sheaves lying in every shocke together, and no one shocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing, and told them that were with him, Me thinks all Laconia is as it were an inheritance of many brethern, who had newly made partition together. He gave an attempt to have devided also moveables, and to have made a common partition betwene them, to thend he would have utterly taken away all unequalitie. But finding the cittizens tooke it very impatiently, that openly that which they had, should be taken awaye: he went about to doe it more secretly, and in a conninger wise to take away that covetousnes. For first of all, he dyd forbid all coyne of golde and sylver to be currant: and then he dyd set out certaine coynes of iron which he commaunded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantitie was but litle worthe. So as to laye up therof the value of tenne Minas, it would have occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would have neded a yoke of oxen to carie it any where. Nowe golde and silver being thus banished out of the countrie, many lewde partes and faultes must needes cease thereby. For who would robbe, steale, picke, take awaye, hyde, procure, or whorde up any thing, that he had no great occasion to desire, nor any profit to possesse, nor would be any pleasure to use or employe. For, the iron they occupied for their coyne, they cast vineger upon it while it was redde hotte out of the fire, to kill the strength and working of it to any other use: for thereby it was so eger and brickle, that it would byde no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other facion. By this meanes he banished also, all superfluous and unprofitable sciences, which he knew he should not neede to doe by any proclamation: bicause they would fall awaye (or the most parte of them) even of them selves, when the basenes of the

Lycurgus chaungeth all golde and silver into iron coyne.

Lycurgus made all sciences and craftes of no value.

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LYCURGUS

money they should take for their worke, should undoe them. For their iron moneys were not currant els where in the citties of Grece, but every bodye made a jeste of it there. By this occasion, the Lacedæmonians could buye no forrein wares nor marchandises, neither came there any shippe into their haven to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rethorician dyd repaire into their countrie to teache them eloquence, and the cunning cast of lying: nor yet came there to them any wysard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell house, nor yet goldsmithe or jueller, to make or sell any toyes or trifles of golde or silver to set forth women: considering all these things are used to be made to get money, and to hourd up that they had not. After this sorte, delicatenes that wanted many things that entertained it, beganne by litle and litle to vanishe awaye, and lastely, to fall of from them selves: when the most riche men had no more occasion then the poorest, and riches having no meane to shewe her selfe openly in the worlde, was fayne to remaine shut at home idely, as not able to doe her master any service. Thereupon moveables and householde stuffe (which a man cannot be without, and must be daylie occupied) as bedsteades, tables, chayers, and suche like necessaries for house, were excellently well made: and men dyd greatly prayse the facion of the Laconian cuppe which they called Cothon, and specially for a souldier in the warres, as Critias was wont to saye. For it was made after such a facion, that the culler of it dyd let the eye to discerne the fowle and unwholsome water, which men are driven oftetimes to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times against ones stomake to see it: and if by chaunce there was any filth or mudde in the bottome, it would cleave and sticke fast upon the ribbes of the bellie, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that drancke it. The reformer of their state was the cause of all this: bicause their artificers tending now no superfluous works, were occupied about the making of their most necessary things. Further, nowe to drive awaye all superfluitie and deliciousnes, and to roote out utterly desire to get and gather: he made another thirde lawe for eating and drincking, and against feastes and

Cothon a straunge kinde of cuppe of the Lacedæmonian souldiers.

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banckets. First he willed and commaunded the cittizens, that they should eate together all of one meate, and chiefly of those he had permitted by his ordinance. Then he dyd expressely forbid them to eate alone, or a parte, or secretly by them selves, upon riche tables and sumptuous beddes, abusing the labour of excellent worcke men, and the devises of likerous cookes to cramme them selves in corners, as they doe fatte up beastes and poultrie, which doth not only breede ill conditions in the minde, but dothe marre the complexions of men, and the good states of their bodie, when they give them selves over to such sensualitie and gluttonie. Whereof it followeth in the ende that men must needes sleepe muche, to helpe to digest the excesse of meates they have taken, and then must they goe to the whotte houses to bathe them selves, and spend long time about the ordinarie attendance of their sickely bodyes. This was a marveilous thing for him to bring to passe, but much more, to make riches not to be stolen, and least of all to be coveted, as Theophrastus sayd of him: which by this meanes of making them eate together with all sobriety at their ordinarie dyet, was brought to passe. For there was no more meane to the riche, then to the poore, to use to playe, or shewe riches, sithe both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: so as that which is commonly spoken, that Pluto the god of riches is blinde, was truely verified only in the cittie of Sparta, above all other places of the worlde. For there riches was layed on the grounde like a corse without a soule, that moveth no whit at all: considering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home secretly in his house, before he came to their open halles, nor might not come thither for a countenance only to his meales, being already fedde and full fraight. For every mans eye was upon those specially which did not eate and drincke with a good stomake amongest them: and it was the use to reproche them as gluttons, and dayntie mouthed men, which refused to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they saye, that grieved most the riche above all that Lycurgus made, and whereat they were most madde and angrie with him: in so muche, as on a daye, they all setting

LYCURGUS

Lycurgus appointeth order for dyet unto the Lacedæmonians.

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LYCURGUS upon him to alter it, he was compelled to ronne out of the market place, and getting grounde of them, he recovered the liberties of a churche, before any could overtake him: saving one young man called Alcander, who otherwise had no ill nature in him, but that he was somewhat quicke of his hande, and cholericke with all. Who following Lycurgus nerer then any other, dyd geve him a blowe overthwart the face with a staffe, and strake out one of his eyes, as Lycurgus turned toward him. Yet for all this, Lycurgus never bashed or made worde at the matter, but dyd lifte up his head to those that followed him, and shewed them his face all a gore bloude, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were all so sore ashamed, that there was not a man that durst once open his mouth against him, but to the contrarie, they seemed to pittie him, and dyd deliver Alcander into his handes that had done the dede, to punishe him as him selfe pleased. And so they all brought him to his house, and shewed they were right hartely sorie for his hurte. Lycurgus thancking them, returned them all backe againe, save that he made Alcander to goe with him into his house, where he never hurte him, nor gave him fowle worde: but commaunded him onely to waite upon him, and made his other ordinarie servaunts to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now beganne to spye his owne faulte, dyd most willingly attend upon him, and never spake worde to the contrarie. When he had served him a certaine time, being very nere continually about him, he beganne to feele and taste of his naturall liberalitie, and sawe of what affection and intention Lycurgus was moved to doe all he dyd: he perceyved what was the severitie of his ordinary life, and what his constancy was to endure labour without wearines. Alcander then beganne to love and honour Lycurgus from his harte, and tolde his parents and friends, howe he was no suche severe man as he seemed, but was of so kynde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I praye you howe Alcander was transformed by Lycurgus, and his punishement also, which he should have receyved: for of a fierce, rashe, and a lewde conditioned youth he was before, he became nowe a very grave and wise man. But for

Alcander strooke out Lycurgus eye.

Lycurgus pacience and gentlenes.

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memorie of this his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to Minerva, which he surnamed Optiletide, bicause the Dorians which dwell in those partes of Peloponnesus, doe call the eyes, *optiles*. There are other writers (as Dioscorides for one) which saye Lycurgus had a blowe with a staffe, but he had not his eye striken out with it: and how contrariwise, he founded this temple to Minerva, to give her thanckes for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that ever since the Spartans have bene restrayned to carie staves in any assembly of counsell. But to returne to their common repastes, which the Cretans called *Andria*, and the Lacedæmonians *Phiditia*, either bicause they were places wherein they learned to live soberly and straightly (for in the Greke tongue *Phido*, is to save and spare) or els bicause their amitie and friendshippe grewe there towards one another, as if they would have called them *Philitia*, 'feasts of love,' by chaunging d into L: It maye be also they added the first letter as superfluous, and meant to call the places *Editia*, bicause they dyd eate and drincke there. They sat in their halles by fifteene in a companie, litle more or lesse, and at the beginning of every moneth every one brought a bushell of meale, eight gallons of wine, five pound of cheese, and two pound and a halfe of figges for a man, besides some litle portion of their monye to buye certaine freshe acates. And over and above all this, every man when he dyd sacrifice in his house, was bounde to send the best and chiefest things of his sacrifice to the halles to be eaten. Likewise if any man went an hunting, and killed any venison: it was an order, he should send a pece of the fleshe thither. Having these two lawfull causes, they might eate and drinke by them selves at home, either when they sacrificed any beast to the goddes, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwise they were bounde of necessitie to meete in their halles at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very straightly a great time: in so muche as king Agis on a daye, returning from the warres, where he had overthrowen the Athenians, and being desirous to suppe at home privately with the Queene his wife, he sent to the halles for his portion. But the Polemarchi, that be certaine officers assisting the Kings

LYCURGUS

Minerva optiletide.

Andria and *Phiditia* meales why so called.

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LYCURGUS

in the warres, dyd denye him. The next daye Agis left of for spight, to doe the accustomed sacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the ende of every warre: whereupon they set a fine on his head, and condemned him to paye it. The young children also went to these repasts, even as they should goe to schooles to learne gravity and temperaunce, where they heard wise and grave discourses touching the government of a common weale, but not of masters that were as hierlinges. There they learned pretylie to playe upon wordes, and pleasauntly to sporte one with another, without any broade speaches, or uncomely Jestes, and at others handes to beare the same againe, without choller or anger. For this propertie have the Lacedæmonians above all other, to take and geve a mocke without any offence: nevertheles, if any mans nature could not beare it, he neded but praye the partie to forbeare his jesting, and so he lefte it straight. And it was ever an ordinarie among them, that the eldest of the companie tolde the rest that were come into the hall to meale, with shewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a worde here out of this dore. Even so he that would be receyved to meale there in their companie, must first of necessitie be allowed and receyved in this sorte, by all the rest. Every one of them tooke a litle balle of branne or dowe to washe their handes with, and without ever a word speaking, they threwe it into a basen, which the servant that waited on them at the table dyd carie upon his head: he that was contented the other should be receyved in companie, dyd cast in his balle as he dyd receyve it, but if he misliked him, then he pressed it flat betwene his fingers, and threwe it in. This ball of branne thus pressed flat was asmuch as a beane bored thorough, and was to them a signe of condemnation. If any one balle were found of this sorte, the suter was rejected: for they would not have any enter into their companie, that was not liked of all the rest. He that thus was rejected, they saye he was discadded: for the basin wherein the litle balles were caried, was called *Caddos*. The best dishe they served at these meales, was that they call their blacke brothe: so that when they had that, the olde men dyd eate no fleshe, but lefte it all to the younge

Children were brought to these meales.

The propertie of a Lacedæmonian.

The order of receiving any man into their company at meales.

The blacke broth.

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men, and they by them selves dyd eate the brothe. There was a king of Pontus, that being desirous to taste of this blacke broth, dyd buye of purpose a Lacedæmonian cooke: but after he had once tasted thereof, he was very angry straight. The cooke then sayed unto him: And it please your grace, ere one shall finde this brothe good, he must be washed first in the river Eurotas. After they had eate and druncke thus soberly together, every one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to goe thither, nor any where els with light, bicause they should accustome them selves boldely to goe up and downe the darcke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meales. But here is specially to be noted, that Lycurgus would in no wise have any of his lawes put in writing. For it is expressely set downe in his lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his lawes should be written. For he thought that which should chiefly make a cittie happie, and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens heartes and manners, as to have continuaunce for ever: which he tooke to be love and good will, as a farre stronger knot to tye men with, then any other compulsary lawe. Which when men by use and custome through good education doe take in their childhoode, it maketh every man to be a lawe to him selfe. Furthermore, concerning buying and barganing one with another, which are but trifles, and sometime are chaunged in one sorte, and sometime in another, as occasion serveth: he thought it best not to constrayne them to doe it by writing, nor to establishe customes that might not be altered, but rather to leave them to the libertie and discretion of men which had bene brought up in the same, bothe to take awaye, and to adde therein, as the case and time should require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefest pointe of a good lawe maker or reformer of the common weale was, to cause men to be well brought up and instructed. One of his ordinaunces therefore was expressely, that not one of his lawes should be written. Another of his devises was, against superfluous charges and expences: which to avoyde, he made a lawe that all roofes of houses should be made only with the axe, and all gates and doores with

LYCURGUS

Cicero calleth this King, Dionysius the tyrann. *Tusc.* 5.

Lycurgus would not have his lawes written otherwise then in mens myndes.

Retra, for excesse or ryot.

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LYCURGUS

the sawe, and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards Epaminondas had, when he sayed, speaking of his table: Such a borde never receyveth any treason. Even so thought Lycurgus, that such a buylt house would never receyve curiositie or daintines. For no man is so maddely disposed or simple witted, as to bring into so poore and meane houses, bedsteades with silver feete, imbrodered coverlettes, or counterpoyntes of purple silke, neither yet plate of golde nor of silver, nor suche other like costly furniture and finenes, as those things require to wayte upon them: bicause the beddes must be aunswerable to the meanenes of the house, the furnitures of the beddes must be sutelike to the same, and all other householde stuffe, dyet, meate, and drinke agreable to the rest. Hereof proceeded that, which Leontychidas the first King of that name, sayed once: who supping on a time in the cittie of Corinthe, and seeing the roofe of the hall where he satte, sumptuously embowed and carved, he asked straight if the trees dyd growe carved so in that countrie. The third lawe was, he dyd forbyd them to make warre often with one enemie, lest the enemie forced to take often armes in hande, might in the ende growe experter and vallianter then they. For this cause king Agesilaus was greatly blamed, who was a longe time after. For by making often warres with the countrie of Boeotia, he made the Thebans in the ende as expert and valliant souldiers, as the Lacedæmonians. Whereupon Antalcidas seeing him hurte one daye, sayed unto him: The Thebans have nobely rewarded thee for their learning, sith thou hast made them expert soldiers unwilling to learne the discipline of warre. These be the lawes Lycurgus selfe called *Retra*, and signifie as muche as Oracles, that the god Apollo had discovered to him. Nowe the education of children, he esteemed the chiefest and greatest matter, that a reformer of lawes should establishe. Therefore beginning a farre of, he first considered the state of mariage, and the generation of children. For Aristotle sayeth, that Lycurgus dyd attempt to reforme women, and dyd soone geve it over againe: bicause he could doe no good therein, by reason of the great libertie they had

Epaminondas saying.

King Leontychidas saying.

Retra for warres.

Antalcidas saying.

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taken by the absence of their husbands in the warres, compelled often so to be abroade, and that they dyd leave them mistresses of their house, and at their returne dyd honour them so muche, and make of them so beyonde measure, with calling them ladyes and mistresses. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, aswell as he had of mens: and so reason dyd require. First of all, he willed that the maydens should harden their bodyes with exercise of running, wrestling, throwe the barre, and casting the darte, to the ende that the fruite wherewith they might be afterwardes conceyved, taking norishement of a stronge and lustie bodye, should shoote out and spread the better: and that they by gathering strength thus by exercises, should more easely awaye withe paynes of childe bearing. And to take awaye from them their womanishe dayntines, and fines, he brought up a custome, for young maydes and boyes to goe as it were a precession, and to daunce naked at solemne feastes and sacrifices, and to singe certaine songes of their owne making, in the presence and sight of young men. To whom by the waye they gave many times prety mockes of purpose, as pleasauntly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their dueties: and sometimes also in their songe for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they praysed them which had deserved it. By this meanes, they dyd set young mens hartes a fire, to strive to winne most prayse and honour. For who so was praysed of them for a valliant man, or whose worthy actes were songe by them, he thereby was incoraged to doe the better another time: and the pretie girdes and quippes they gave to others, was of no lesse force, then the sharpest wordes and admonitions that otherwise could be geven them. This tooke place the rather, bicause it was done in the presence of the Kings, the Senatours, and all the rest of the cittizens which came thither to see these sportes. And though the maydes dyd shewe themselves thus naked openly, yet was there no dishonesty seene nor offred, but all this sporte was full of playe and toyes, without any youthfull parte or wantonnes: and rather caried a shewe of demurenes, and a desire to have their best made bodyes seene and spyed. Moreover, it somewhat lifted up

LYCURGUS

The discipline of women amongest the Lacedæmonians. Arist. *polit.* lib. 7. cap. 17.

The exercises and discipline of maydes.

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their hartes, and made them noblier minded, by geving them to understand, that it was no lesse comely for them, in their kynde and exercises to carie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exercises to carie the price. Hereof it came, that the women of Lacedæmon were so bolde to saye, and thincke of them selves that, which Gorgona the wife of king Leonidas one daye aunswered: being in talke with a straunge woman that sayed to her: There be no women in the worlde that commaund their husbands, but you wives of Lacedæmon. Whereto the Queene straight replyed: So be there no women but we, which bringe forth men. Furthermore, these playes, sportes, and daunses, the maydes dyd naked before younge men, were provocations to drawe and allure the young men to marye: not as persuaded by geometricall reasons, as sayeth Plato, but brought to it by liking, and of very love. Those which would not marye, he made infamous by lawe. For it was not lawfull for suche to be present, where these open games and pastimes were shewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the cittie compelled suche as would not marye, even in the hardest time of the winter, to environne the place of these sportes, and to goe up and downe starcke naked, and to singe a certaine songe made for the purpose against them, which was: that justely were they punished, bicause that lawe they disobeyed. Moreover, when suche were olde, they had not the honour and reverence done them, which old maried men usually received. Therefore there was no man that misliked, or reproved that, which was spoken to Dercillidas: albeit otherwise he was a noble captaine. For, comming into a presence, there was a young man which would not vowchesafe to rise and doe him reverence, nor to geve him place for to sit downe: And worthely, quoth he, bicause thou hast not gotten a sonne, who maye doe so muche for me in time to come. Those which were desirous to marie any, were driven to take them awaye by force whom they would marie, not litle younge wenches I meane, which were not of age to be maried: but lustie and strong maides of age to beare children. And when one of them was stolen awaye in this sorte, she that was privie thereto, and meane to make the mariage,

The saying of a Laconian woman.

Men that would not marye, Lycurgus reputed infamous by lawe.

Matrimoniall ceremonies in Lacedæmon.

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came and shaved the heares of her head that was maried: LYCURGUS
then she put her into mans apparell, and gave her all things sute like to the same, and layed her upon a matteresse all alone, without light or candell. After this was done, the bridegroome, being neither droncke nor finelier apparrelled then he was wonte to be, but having supped soberly at his ordinarie, came home secretly to the house where the bride was: and there untied his wives girdell, tooke her in his armes, layed her upon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwards fayer and softely stole awaye to the place, where he was wonte to sleepe with other young men. And so from thenceforth, he continued allwayes to doe the like, being all the daye time, and sleeping most of the night, with his companions, onles he sometime stale to see his wife, being affrayed, and ashamed ever to be seene, by any of the house where she was. And hereunto his younge wife did helpe for her parte, to spye meanes and occasions howe they might mete together, and not be seene. This manner endured a great while, and untill somme of them had children, before they boldely met together, and sawe eache other on the daye time. This secret meeting in this sorte did serve to good purposes, not only bicause it was some meane of continencie and shamefastnes, but also it kept their bodies in strength and better state, to bring forth children. It continued also in both parties, a still burning love, and a newe desire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs commonly be which have their bellies full of love, and as muche as they lust: but they ever parted with an appetite one from another, keeping still a longing desire to devise howe to mete againe. Nowe when he had stablished suche a continencie, and so kynde a framed honestie in mariage, he tooke no lesse care to drive awaye all foolishe jealousie therein, thinking it very good reason to beware there should be no violence, nor confusion in mariage: and yet as reason would, they should suffer those which were worthie to get children as it were in common, laughing at the mad follie of them which revenge such things with warre and bloudshed, as though in that case men in no wise should have no fellowshippe together. There-

Holsome rules for maried cooples.

Lycurgus regard to avoyd jealousie in the common wealth.

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LYCURGUS

fore a man was not to be blamed, being stepped in yeres, and having a young wife, if seeing a fayer young man that liked him, and knowen with all to be of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with childe, and afterwardes would avowe it for his, as if him selfe had gotten it. It was lawfull also for an honest man that loved another mans wife, for that he sawe her wise, shamefast, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreate her husband to suffer him to lye with her, and that he might also plowe in that lustie grounde, and cast abroade the seede of well favored children: which by this meanes came to be common in bloude and parentage, with the most honorable and honestest persones. For first of all, Lycurgus did not like that children should be private to any men, but that they should be common to the common weale: by which reason he would also, that such as should become cittizens, should not be begotten of every man, but of the most honestest men only. So Lycurgus thought also there were many foolishe vaine toyes and fansies, in the lawes and orders of other nations, touching mariage: seeing they caused their bitches and mares to be limed and covered with the fayrest dogges and goodliest stalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the masters and owners of the same: and kept their wives notwithstanding shut up safe under locke and key, for feare least other then them selves might get them with childe, although they were sickely, feeble brayned, and extreme olde. As if it were not first of all, and chiefly a discommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewise to those that bring them up, to have unperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drie and withered men: and then to the contrarie, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that have fayer and good children borne, as gotten of like seede and men. These things were done then by naturall and civill reason, nevertheles they saye women were so farre of then from intreatie, as ever they were before: so as in olde time, in Sparta, men knew not what adulterie ment. For proofe whereof, the aunswer made by Geradas (one of the first auncient Spartans) unto a straunger, maye be alledged: that asked him, what punishe-

No adultrie shewen in Sparta.

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ment they had for adulterers. My friend, quoth he, there be none here. But if there were? replied the straunger againe. Marye sayed he, then he must paye as great a bull, as standing upon the toppe of the mountaine Taygetus, maye drincke in the river of Eurotas. Yea marye: but howe is it possible (quoth the straunger) to finde such a bull? Geradas laughing, aunswered him againe: And howe were it possible also to finde an adulterer in Sparta? And this is that which is found of Lycurgus lawes touching mariages. Furthermore, after the birthe of every boye, the father was no more master of him, to cocker and bring him up after his will: but he him selfe caried him to a certaine place called Lesché, where the eldest men of his kinred being set, did viewe the childe. And if they founde him fayer, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and stronge: they gave order he should be brought up, and appointed him one of the nine thousand partes of inheritaunce for his education. Contrariwise, if they founde him deformed, misshapen, or leane, or pale, they sent him to be throwen in a deepe pyt of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, and as a man would saye, the common house of office: holding opinion it was neither good for the childe, nor yet for the common weale, that it should live, considering from his birthe he was not well made, nor geven to be stronge, healthfull, nor lustie of bodie all his life longe. For this cause therefore, the nurce after their birthe did not washe them with water simply (as they doe every where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they proove, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they suppose, that children which are geven to have the falling sicknes, or otherwise to be full of rewmes and sicknesses, cannot abide washing with wine, but rather drye and pyne awaye: as contrarilie the other which are healthfull, become thereby the stronger and the lustier. The nurces also of Sparta use a certaine manner to bring up their children, without swadling, or binding them up in clothes with swadling bandes, or having on their heades any crosse clothes: so as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better shaped and goodlier of bodie. Besides that, they acquainted their children to all kinde of meates,

LYCURGUS

The education of children with the Lacedæmonians.

Lesché.

Apothetes.

Young babes washed with wine.

The Spartan nurces.

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LYCURGUS

and brought them up without muche tendaunce, so as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be lefte alone in the darcke, neither were they criers, wrallers, or unhappy children, which be all tokens of base and cowardly natures. So that there were straungers, that of purpose bought nources out of Laconia, to bring up their children: as they saye Amycla was one of them, which nourced Alcibiades. But Pericles his tutor, gave him afterwardes a bonde man called Zopyrus, to be his master and governour: who had no better propertie in him, then other common slaves. This did not Lycurgus. For he did not put the education and government of the children of Sparta, into the handes of hyered masters or slaves bought with money: neither was it lawfull for the father him selfe to bring up his owne childe after his owne manner and liking. For so soone as they came to seven yeres of age, he tooke and divided them by companies, to make them to be brought up together, and to accustome them to playe, to learne, and to studie one with another. Then he chose out of every company one, whom he thought to have the best wit, and had most courage in him to fight: to whom he gave the charge and oversight of his owne companie. The reste had their eyes waiting allwayes on him, they did obey his commaundements willingly, they did abide paciently all corrections he gave them, they did suche taskes and worckes as he appointed them: so that all their studie was most to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde graye headed men were present many times to see them playe, and for the most parte they gave them occasions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better knowe and discerne the naturall disposition of every one of them, and whether they gave any signes or tokens in time to come, to become cowardes or valiant men. Touching learning, they had as muche as served their turne: for the reste of their time they spent in learning howe to obey, to awaye with payne, to indure labour, to overcome still in fight. According to their groweth and yeres, they dyd chaunge the exercises of their bodyes: they dyd shave their heads, they went barelegged, they were constrained to playe naked together the most parte

Pluto of the first Alcibiades.

Howe the Lacedæmonians children were brought up.

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of their time. After they were past twelve yeres of age, they ware no lenger coates: and they gave them yerely but one seely gowne. This was the cause they were alwayes so nasty and sluttishe, and they never used to bathe or noynte them selves, saving only at certaine dayes in the yere, when they were suffered to tast of this refreshing. They laye and slept together upon beddes of straw, which they them selves dyd make, of the toppes of reedes or canes that grewe in the river of Eurotas: which they were forced to goe gather and breake them selves with their handes, without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they dyd mingle thistle downe with these, which is called *Lycophonas*, bicause that stuffe seemeth somewhat warme of it selfe. About this time, the favorers and likers of this prety youthe, which were commonly the lustiest and best disposed youthes of the cittie, beganne to be ofter in their companie: and then the olde men tooke the better regarde unto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daylie exercises, and where their use was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should mocke another. This dyd their olde men, not by waye of pastime only, but with suche care and harty love towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, masters, and governours, while they were boyes: in so much as there was never time nor place, where they had not allwayes some to admonishe, reprove, or correct them, if they dyd a faulte. Notwithstanding all this, there was ever one of the honestest men of the cittie, who had expressely the charge and governaunce of these boyes. He dyd divide them in companies, and afterwards gave the oversight of them, to suche a one of the boyes as was discreetest, the manliest, the most hardie, and of the best corage amongest them. They called the children that were past infancie two yeres, *Irenes*: and the greatest boyes *Melirenes*: as who would saye, ready to goe out of boyerie. This boye who was made overseer of them, was commonly twenty yeres of age. He was their captaine when they fought, and did commaunde them as his servaunts when they were in the house: and willed them which were strongest, and the most growen, to carie wodde when they should prepare dinner or supper, and those which

LYCURGUS

It is a kinde of thistle in the Messenian tongue: reade Hesychias.

Irenes.

Melirenes.

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were least and weakest, to goe gather erbes, which they must steale or lacke them. So they went out to steale some in gardens, some at the markets, other in the halles where the feastes were kept, and men did eate together, into the which they conveyed them selves as closely and cunningly as they could devise: for if they were taken with the manner, they were scourged terriblie, because they were so grosse and necligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They stole also all other kinde of meate, whatsoever they could get or laye hands on. They pried and sought all occasions howe to take and steale meate handsomely, bothe when men were asleepe, or els that they were careles, or did not geve good hede unto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundely, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittaunce, bicause necessity should drive them to venter boldely, and wit should finde out all the devises to steale finely. This was the chiefest cause, why they gave them so small a diet. The seconde cause was, that their bodies might growe up higher in height. For the vitall spirites not being occupied to concoct and digest much meate, nor yet kept downe, or spread abroade by the quantitie or overburden thereof, doe enlarge them selves into lengthe, and shoote up for their lightnes: and for this reason they thought the bodie did growe in height and lengthe, having nothing to let, or hinder the rising of the same. It seemeth, that the same selfe cause made them fayerer also. For the bodies that are leane and slender, doe better and more easely yeld to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to every member: and contrariwise it seemeth these grosse, corpulent, and overfedde bodies doe encounter nature, and be not so nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heavy substaunce. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a litle before their time, and be somwhat cast before they should have bene borne, be smaller and fayerer also, and more pure commonly then other that goe their time: bicause the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more supple and pliant, is the easelier welded by nature, which geveth them their shape and forme. Touching the naturall cause of this effect, let us geve place to other

The theeverie of the Lacedæmonians.

Straight dyet causeth growth and height.

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to dispute it that will, without our further deciding of the same. But to returne to the matter of the Lacedæmonians children. They dyd robbe with so great care, and feare to be discovered: that they tell of one, which having stolen a litle foxe, dyd hyde him under his cloke, and suffered him with his teethe and clawes to teare out all his bellie, and never cryed, for feare he should have bene betrayed, untill he fell downe dead in the place where he stoode. This is not uncredible, by that we see younge boyes doe abide at this daye: for we have seene divers, which have bidden whipping even to death, upon the altar of Diana, surnamed Orthia. Nowe this under master, who had the charge of every companie of these boyes, used after supper (sitting yet at the table) to byd one of them singe a songe: to another he put forth a question, who was to be well advised of his aunswer, as for example: Who is the honestest man in the cittie? or Howe thinckest thou by that such a one dyd? By this exercise they were enured from boyes state, to judge of things well or ill done, and to understand the life and government of their cittizens. For which of them did not aunswer quickly and directly to these questions, who is a good man, who is an honest cittizen, and who not: they thought it was a signe of a dulle wit, and careles nature, not geven to any vertue, for desire of honour and estimation. Furthermore this under master was ever to waite for his aunswer, and to see it should be brief and well knyt up in wordes: otherwise his punishement that aunswered crossely, or to litle purpose, was that his master byt him by the thumbe. This he dyd many times in the presence of the olde men and magistrates of the cittie, that they might see whether he punished them with reason or not, and according to their deserving. And though he dyd hurte him, they dyd not by and by reprove him, but when the children were gone awaye, then was he him selfe rebuked and punished, if he had corrected them to sore, or contrarylie had favored them to muche. Moreover they dyd ascribe the good or ill opinion conceaved of the children, unto every of their favorers, and lovers, which dyd affect and entertaine them: in asmuch as they saye, a young boye upon a time fighting

Childrens exercise after their supper.

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with another, and a crye scaping out of his mouthe, which his fainte cowardly harte dyd yelde, his favorer and lover was straight condemned by the officers of the cittie to a fine. Albeit this love was a thing even incorporated into them, that the most honest and vertuousest women loved the young maydes thus also: yet was there no jealousie nor suspition that grewe hereof, but rather to the contrarie, there grewe a marvelous mutuall love and kyndnes betweene them, which loved in one selfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, dyd devise howe to make the childe they loved in common, the wisest, the gentlest, and the best conditioned above all other. They taught these children to speake in suche sorte, that their speache had ever in it a pleasaunt grace, and in fewe wordes comprehended much matter. For Lycurgus ordained, a great masse and weight of iron money, should be but litle worthe, and of a small value, as we have tolde you before: and contrarilie, that speache in fewe wordes, without any affectation, should holde much deepe and grave matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long silence, should be brief and pitthie in their aunswers. For as the seede of incontinent men which are to busie with every ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bringe forth fruite: even so immoderate speache, full of wordes and busie tattle, bringeth forth as litle sense. Hereof it commeth, that the aunswers of the Laconians were so shorte and witty. As they saye, king Agis aunswered on a daye an Athenian, who jesting at the swords the Lacedæmonians dyd were, sayed they were so shorte, that these tumblers, and jugglers dyd swallowe them downe in the sight of all the world: And yet sayed Agis, we hurte our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the Laconians manner of speaking: which is not to speake much, but when they speake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers understand them. I thincke also, that Lycurgus selfe, was shorte and quicke in his talke. For so a man may conjecture by his aunswers which are written: as that which he made to one who earnestly prayed him to stablishe a popular state in Lacedæmon, that the basest might have as great authoritie as the highest. Beginne

The Lacedæmonians manner of loving.

Short speache taught among the Lacedæmonians.

Lycurgus wise aunswers.

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(quoth he) to doe it first in thine owne house. And as that also which he aunswered another who asked him, why he had appointed so small things, and so little of value to be offered to the goddes? Bicause (quoth he) we should never cease to honour them. And as that which he spake another time, touching fightes and frayes, which was: that he dyd never forbid his cittizens any of them, but those wherein they use to geve their hande, as you would saye to yeld. Men finde also suche like aunswers, in some of his letters written to his cittizens, as when they asked him: Howe can we defende our selves against our enemies? He aunswered: If ye be poore, and one doe covet no more then another. And in another letter that was sent, where he discourseth, whether it were requisite to inclose the cittie with walles: he sayeth, Can that cittie be without walles, which is environned with men, though it be uncompassed with stone? Nevertheles it is harde to resolve, whether those letters, and other suche like that are shewed, be to be beleeved, or discredited to be his. But that long speache was much disliked, and reproved among the Lacedæmonians, it is manifestly to be seene by the words, which somme amongest them have heretofore aunswered. As king Leonidas sayed one daye, to one that discoursed with him many good things, but out of season: Friend, thou speakest many good words, but to litle purpose. And Charilaus, nephew to Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle made so fewe lawes: Bicause sayed he, to men of fewe wordes, fewe lawes will serve. And Archidamidas sayed thus to somme, which reproved Hecatæus the Orator, for that being bidden to supper at one of their feasts he spake not a worde all supper time: He who can speake well, knoweth also when to speake. And where I have tolde before, that in their feate and quicke aunswers, commonly there was some prety grace, it maye be well seene and knowen by these that followe. Demaratus aunswered a busie fellowe who troubled him to much with vaine importunate questions, asking him still: who was the honestest man of Lacedæmon? Even he that is least like thy selfe. And Agis sayed to somme which highely praysed the Elians for their upright judgement, and just dealing in the games Olympicall: What

Lycurgus love to god.

To geve a hand, is to confesse him self overcome.

Shorte sentences of certaine Laconians.

Leonidas.

Charilaus.

Archidamidas.

Sharpe sentences of the Laconians.

Demaratus.

Agis.

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LYCURGUS

Theopompus.

wonder make ye of it (quoth he) if in five yeres space the Elians one daye doe good justice? And Theopompus likewise to a straunger, who as desirous to shew his affection he bare the Lacedæmonians, told him how every bodye called him Philolacon (as to saye) a lover of Lacedæmon. It were more honestie for thee (sayed he) to be named Philolites, a lover of her cittizens. And Plistonax the sonne of Pausanias, when an Orator of Athens sayed the Lacedæmonians were unlearned, and ignorant: thou sayest true, quoth he, for we only of all the Grecians have learned none of your ill conditions. And Archidamidas, to one that demaunded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the Spartans: Enowe sayd he, to drive awaye the wicked. We may conjecture also their manner of speaking, by their wordes in mirthe, which they spake sometimes playing wise: for they dyd never use to speake vaine wordes at randone, but it had alwayes some secret meaning in it, which required anothers good observation that would finde it. As he which was desired to goe heare the nightingall counterfeated naturally: I have (sayed he) heard the nightingall it selfe. And another which having redde this inscription upon a tumbe.

Plistonax, Pausanias sonne.

Archidamidas.

In the life of Agesilaus.

When as they had, well quenched tyrannie
throughout their lande, by worthie warlike power,
Their happe was yet in wretched wise to dye,
by scaling Selynuntaes strongest tower.

They well deserved death, sayed he, that dyd but quenche tyrannie: they should have quite consumed it with fire. And one younger boye to another, promising to geve him suche hardie cockes of the game, as should dye in the place where they fought: O geve me not those (said he) which will dye, but those which with fighting will kill others. Another seeing men sitting in coches and litters as they went: God forbid (said he) that I should ever sit in a chayer, where I could not rise to my elders. Suche were their aunswers and encounters. So that somme had reason which sayed heretofore, to speake Laconian like, was to be philosopher like: as you would saye, more to exercise the minde, then the bodye. Besides all this, they dyd studie to singe

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well, and to make goodly ditties and songes. Then they spake most properly and feately. There was in their songs also a certaine motion, I wote not what, which stirred up the hearers hartes, and dyd kindle desire in them to doe notable feates. Their tongue was plaine, without affectation: their matter grave and morall, conteining for the most parte the prayse of those, which were slayne in battell for the defence of their countrie, as being happy men: and a shame to those that live, which for fainte hartes refused so to dye, to leade a miserable and unfortunate life. Or els they sange howe they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glorie of the worlde, and the true representation of vertuous men: as the songe would best become their ages which dyd singe. It shall not be impartinent for the better understanding hereof, to bring you here an example. For in their open feasts, there were alwayes three daunces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the olde men, thus beganne first for to singe.

LYCURGUS

The Lacedæmonians songes.

Three daunces among the Lacedæmonians.

We have bene young and strong, yea valliant heretofore,
till crooked age did holde us backe, and bad us doe no more.

The young men followed after, singing:

We yet are young, bolde, strong, and ready to maintaine
that quarell still, against all men that doe on earthe remaine.

The third was of children that came after and sayed:

And we doe hope aswell, to passe you all at last,
and that the worlde shall witnes be, ere many yeres be past.

To conclude, who nerely will consider the worcks and makings of the Lacon poets (wherof some are yet extant) and will marke also the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the sound and measure whereof they marched in arraye, going to charge the enemie: he shall finde, that Terpander, and Pindarus, had reason to joyne hardynes with musicke. For Terpander speaking of the Lacedæmonians, sayeth in a place:

Terpander of the Lacedæmonians.

This is that lande where deedes of chevalrie,
did florishe most, in many a martiall feate:

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LYCURGUS

Where musicke made, her choise of harmonie,
and justice kept her stately royall seate.

Pyndarus of the Lacedæmonians.

And Pindarus speaking of them also sayeth:

There: grave advise, is founde in aged braynes:
there: gallant youthes, are lusty ladds in dede.
Which can both singe, and daunce, in courtlike traines:
yet dant their foes, with many a doughty dede.

By which testimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and describeth them to have loved musicke, and the warres together. For as another Lacon poet sayeth,

It sitteth well, and is a semely thinge,
for such as spend their time in feats of warre:
To have the skyll, swete sonets for to singe,
and touche the harpe withouten jangling jarre.

For this cause therefore in all their warres, when they should geve battell, the King dyd first sacrifice to the Muses, to put his souldiers in minde (as it should seeme) of the discipline and wisdome of the Muses that they had bene brought up in, to the end that when his souldiers were in the most extreme daunger, the Muses should present them selves before the souldiers eyes, to pricke them forward to doe some noble actes of worthy memorie. In their time of warre, they dyd tollerate their young men a litle of their hard and old accustomed life, and suffered them then to trime their heares, to have brave armour, to weare gay apparell, and tooke as great delight therein, to see them gallant, and lustie, as to behold young neying and snorting horse, desirous for to fight. And althoughe from the beginning of their youthe, they dyd use to weare longe heares: yet were they never so carefull to combe and brushe their heades, as when they should to the battell. For when they dyd nointe them selves with sweete oyles, and dyd shed their heare, remembring Lycurgus saying: who was wont to tell them, that heares to them which were fayer, dyd make them more fayer, and to them that were fowle, they made them more ougly and dredfull. The exercises also of their bodies, were more easie and gentle, and not so hard and straight in their warres, as they were in a peace: and generally, their

The longe bushes and heare of the Laconians.

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whole manner of life was not then so straightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they only were the men of the world, to whom warres were made a rest from labour, which men ordinarylie doe endure, to make them the fitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their armie was set in battell raye, even in the face of the enemie, the King dyd straight sacrifice a goate unto the goddes, and forthwith commaunded all his souldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heades, and willed that the pipes should sownd the songe of Castor: at the noyse and tune whereof, he him selfe beganne first to marche forward. So that it was a marvelous pleasure, and likewise a dredfull sight, to see the whole battell marche together in order, at the sound of the pipes, and never to breake their pace, nor confounde their ranckes, nor to be dismayde nor amazed themselves, but to goe on quietly and joyfully at the sounde of these pipes, to hazard themselves even to death. For it is likely, that such corages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet overcome with much furie: but rather they have an assured constancie and valliantnes in good hope, as those which are backed with the assisting favour of the goddes. The King marching in this order, had allwayes some about him, which had before time wonne the prises in games and justes. And they saye there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great some of money at the games Olympicall, not to present him selfe at them: but he refused it, liking better with great payne to winne the prise, then for muche money to lose his honour. Whereupon one sayed unto him, Laconian: and what hast thou gotten nowe, to carie away the prise with so much swet? The Laconian aunswered him laughing: I shall fight in the battell, sayeth he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they dyd still fiercely and fiercelier set upon them, and dyd never cease, untill their enemies gave waye and fled: and then they chased and followed them still, untill such time as their overthrowe and flight had assured them of the victorie. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, judging it to be no manhod, neither the parte of a noble minde, or of so worthye a nation as the Grecians were, to

How the Laconians beganne battell.

The Laconians songe when they marched. Eust. *Ilia.* 15.

How farre the Lacedæmonians dyd pursue their enemies.

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kill and hewe in peeces, men so scattered and out of order, having forsaken all the hope of victorie. This fell out not only honorable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but suche as resisted stowtely, and howe they dyd let other goe which fled before them: they found it was more their benefit to flye, then to tarie and abide the strokes.

Lycurgus a very good captaine.

Hippias the sophister sayeth, that Lycurgus him selfe was a very good captaine, and a great souldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fieldes: and Philostephanus ascribeth to him the devise to put horsemen in troupes and companies,

Oulames.

which they called *Oulames*, whereof fiftie men at armes was a troupe, whose manner was to put them selves in squadrons. But Demetrius the Phalerian writeth otherwise, that Lycurgus was never at the warres, and that he made all his lawes and government in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of warres during the playes Olympicall, which they saye he devised, doeth shew in apparaunce that he was a gentle natured man, and one that loved quietnes and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongest whom Hermippus was one) saye, he was not with Iphitus at the first beginning when he ordeined the playes Olympicall, but that by chaunce he happened to come thither, passing by in his jorney only, and that he stayed there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voyce of a man behinde him, saying, he marvelled much why he dyd not persuade his cittizens also to be parteners of this newe devise: and turning backe to see who it was that spake to him, he sawe no bodye. Whereupon he tooke a conceit that it was a speache from the goddes: and went therefore presently to seeke out Iphitus, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwardes were farre more famous, better ordered, and more stately then before. But to returne againe to the Lacedæmonians: their discipline and order of life continued still, after they were full growen men. For it was not lawfull for any man to live as he listed, but they were within their cittie, as if they had bene in a campe, where every man knoweth what allowance he hath to live withall, and what busines he hath els to doe in his calling.

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To be shorte, they were all of this minde, that they were not borne to serve them selves, but to serve their countrie. Therfore if they were commaunded nothing els, they went continually to see what the children dyd, and to teache them somewhat which might profit the common weale, or els they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which Lycurgus ever brought into his cittie, was the great rest and leysure which he made his cittizens to have, only forbidding them that they should not professe any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goodes were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bonde men by the warres, dyd till their groundes, and yeelded them a certaine revenue every year. And as touching this matter, they tell of a Lacedæmonian, who being on a daye at Athens where the lawe was pleaded, dyd understand that a cittizen there was condemned for Idlenes, and howe he went home to his house very sorowfully, accompanied with his friends which were sorie for him, and greatly lamented his ill happe. The Lacedæmonian then prayed those which were about him, to shewe him the man condemned for living nobly, and like a gentleman. I have alledged this, to shew how he thought it a vile and servill thing to exercise any handy craft, or to worke any thing by hande to get money. For sutes in lawe, a man maye be well assured they were banished with the golde and silver from Lacedæmon, considering now there was no more avarice nor covetousnes there, nor yet povertie nor lacke, but equalitie with aboundaunce, and quiet life with sobrietie. All other times but when they had warres, they followed daunsing, feastes, playes, bankets, hunting, or other exercises of bodye, and meetinges to passe the time away. For the younge men untill they came to thirtie yeres of age, never went into the market to buye any provision or things for the house, but dyd their fathers or their friends busines: naye it was a shame for the oldest men, to hawnte the market to often. As to the contrary, it was honorable for them to be present at the shewe place the most parte of the daye, where they diversely exercised their bodyes, and like-

The Laconians opinion, to serve their countrie.

The rest and leysure of the Lacedæmonians.

Idle livers punished at Athens.

Sutes in lawe went awaye with golde and silver that was banished.

How they spent the time in Sparta.

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wise to be at the places of assembly, there to spend time with talking together, and discoursing honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffike, or money. For all their talke (for the most parte) was about the praysing of some honest thing, or sportingwise to reprove some dishonestie, which alwayes caried with it some gentle lesson or monition by the waye. For Lycurgus was not such a sower man, as they never sawe him laughe: but as Sosibius writeth, it was he that first sacrificed to the litle god of laughture, which is at Lacedæmon, bicause he would mingle their feastes and assemblies with mirthe, as a pleasaunt sawce to ease the trouble of their strickt and harde life. To be brief, he did accustome his cittizens so, that they neither would nor could live alone, but were in manner as men incorporated one with another, and were allwayes in company together, as the bees be about their master bee: still in a continuall love to serve their countrie, to winne honour, and to advaunce the common weale. Which affection of theirs is playne and easely seene to be imprinted in them by certen of their aunswers, as in that which Pædaretus sayed on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery and jocond as might be, sayed: It did him good to see there were three hundred founde better in the cittie than him selfe. Pisistratidas also being sent ambassadour with certen other to the lieutenants of the king of Persia, the Persian lordes asked him, if they came of their owne desire, or whether they were sent from the whole state: If we obtaine, sayed he, it is from the state: if we be denied, then we come of our selves. And Argileonida the mother of Brasidas, asked some that went to visite her after they were returned home to Lacedæmon from their jorney to Amphipolis, if her sonne died like a man, and a worthy Spartan. And they straight did commend him highely, saying: There was not left in all Lacedæmon suche a valliant man. She replied unto them: Saye not so, my friends, I praye you: for Brasidas was in dede a valliant man, but the country of Laconia hath many moe yet vallianter than he was. Now touching their Senate: Lycurgus was the first that erected

The Lacedæmonians lived not privately to them selves in the common weale.

Pædaretus saying.

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it among them. The first that were thereof, were Lycurgus chief ayders and assisters of that erection, as we have declared before: but afterwards he ordeined, that when any of those first should happen to dye, they should choose in his place the most honest reported man in the cittie, so he were three score yere olde and above. This was the noblest glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and prise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest amongest the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for libertie to speake, soveraine authoritie to governe, and princely power over the common weale, the honour, the life, and the goodes of the whole cittizens: howbeit the election was made after this sorte. The people first assembled in the market place, where there were some appointed and shut up thereabout in a house, from whence they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assembled, but onely they might heare the noyse which they made there. For the people by their crye and showte, did declare whom they did choose, and whom they did refuse of the competitours, as they used to shewe their liking by the like crye in other things. The competitours were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the middest of the assemblie of the people, and sayed never a worde. The people straight that liked, made a crye or showte alowde. The men appointed which were locked up, had bookes or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatnes of the crye, and showte the people made, as every competitour passed by, not knowing nor seing who he was. These hidden men did onely set downe in their bookes, the first, the second, the thirde, and so many more, as by showtes and cryes they perceyved dyd passe thus through the assemblie. They noted also in their said bookes, which of these had the greatest crye and showte of people at their passing thorough: and him they came and declared to be Senatour chosen. Then he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the goddes in the cittie to geve thankes, having a great traine of young men follow-

The manner of choosing the Senate in Sparta.

What was done the Senatour being chosen.

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ing, and praysing of his vertues. There went also with him a marvelous company of women singing songes of his prayse, and howe blessed he was, that he had lived so vertuously. Then every one of his kinne prepared a bancket for him at home at their houses, and as he entred the house, they sayed unto him: The cittie honoreth thee with this bancket. That done, he repayred afterwards to the ordinarie place of their eating, where he dyd in all things as he was accustomed, saving he was served nowe at his table with a double allowaunce, whereof he reserved the one. After supper, all his kinsewomen stoode in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: so he called her whom he loved best, and gave her his allowaunce he had saved, and sayed to her: This was geven me in token I was this daye rewarded for my vertue: and even so I geve it thee for a like token of rewarde for thy vertue. Then was she brought home by all the women there to her house, even in like sorte as he was by the men. Touching burialles, Lycurgus made a wise order: For first of all, to cut of all superstition of burying places, he commaunded they should burie their dead within the cittie, and that their graves should be round about their temples, that young persones might have them allwayes in their eyes, and not be affrayed to see a dead bodye, as if to touche a corse, or to passe by their graves, it should defile a man. Then did he forbid them to burie any thing with the corse, and willed they should only lappe it up in a redde clothe, with olive leaves. It was not lawfull to grave the name of any dead bodye upon his grave, but only of suche a man as died in the warres, or of some holy woman professed into their temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very shorte. For it lasted not but a eleven dayes, and on the twelft daye, they must doe sacrifice to Proserpina, and so leave of their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or unworking in his cittizens: for to all necessarie things which men can not lacke, Lycurgus joyned ever a certaine emulation of men. As to desire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furnished his cittie with many good preceptes and examples, emong which his cittizens being still borne and bred up, and having the same in every place before their eyes

The manner of buriall with the Lacedæmonians.

The time of mourning.

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where they went, they came to passe in time to be framed after the very patterne and moulde of vertue it selfe. For this cause he did not suffer any to travell out of the countrie, or to goe abroad as he would, without speciall licence, for feare least those which travelled abroad for their pleasure, should bring home straunge facions and manners, and a corrupt disordered life, which by litle and litle might get waye, and bring an alteration and chaunge of the whole state. Furthermore, he kept out of Sparta all straungers, except those which had necessarie busines there, or were come thither for some profit to the countrie: not that he was affrayed they should learne some thing whereby to love vertue, or that they should desire to followe his facion and manner of government as Thucydides was: but rather fearing they should teache his cittizens some naughty manners, or some ill favored vice. For it must needes be, that straungers bring ever straunge and newe devises with them: which newe devises bring with them also newe opinions: and newe opinions beget newe affections and mindes, that many times are repugnant to the lawe, and to the forme of the common weale established before, as discordes doe many times in an harmonie of musicke, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he judged it a thing most necessarie, to keepe his cittie free and safe from counterfeating of any straungers manners or facions, that were commonly as persones infected with some contagious sicknes. Nowe in all we have spoken before, even to this place, there is no manner of token or shewe of injustice, or lacke of equitie, wherewith some seme to burden Lycurgus in his lawes: by saying they were well made, to make men warlicke and valliant, but not to be juste or righteous. But concerning the lawe they call *Cryptia*, as much to saye, as their secret: if it were of Lycurgus institution, as Aristotle sayeth, it might have caried Plato into the like opinion that Lycurgus had of his common weale. This was the lawe: The governours which had the charge and oversight of the young men, at certaine appointed times, dyd chuse out those they thought to have the best discretion, and sent them abroade into the countrie, some one waye, some another waye, who caried with them

None allowed to travell into other countries without licence.

No straungers suffered to dwell in Sparta.

Cryptia with the Lacedæmonians.

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daggers, and some provision to feede them. These young men being thus dispersed abroade in the countrie, did hide them selves all the daye close in secret places, and there they laye and tooke their rest: afterwardes when night was come, they went to seeke out the high wayes, and killed the first of the Ilotes that they met. Sometimes even in the broade daye, they went into the countrie to kill the strongest and stowtest of them: as Thucydides telleth in his history of the warres of Peloponnesus, where he sayeth. That a certaine convenient number of the Ilotes were crowned, by a publicke proclamation of the Spartans: and being infranchesed, for their good services they had done the common weale, they were caried to all the temples of the goddes for an honour. Within a while after, no man knewe what was become of them, being about two thousand in number: so that never man heard tell neither then nor since, howe they came to their deathes. Howbeit Aristotle above all others sayeth, that the Ephores, so soone as they were placed in their offices, made warres with the Ilotes, bicause they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardely. For they forced them somtimes to drincke wine without water out of measure, till they had made them starke drunke. Then they brought them all into their common halles where they did eate, to make their children to beholde them, and to see what beastlines it was for a man to be drunke. Likewise they made them singe songes, and daunce daunces, unfit for honest men, and suche as were full of derision and mockerie, and did forbid them expressely to singe any honest songes. So it is reported, that in the jorney the Thebans made to Laconia, many of the Ilotes were taken prisoners thereat, and when they were commaunded to singe the verses of Terpander, or of Alcman, or of Spendon the Laconian, they would not doe it: saying, they durst not singe them for their masters. Wherefore he that first sayed in the countrie of Lacedæmonia, he that is free is more free, and he that is bonde, is more bonde then in other places: knewe very well the diversitie betweene the libertie and bondage there, and the libertie and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the

The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians against the Ilotes.

Diodorus lib. 2.

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Lacedæmonians beganne to use these great outrages and cruelties, long time after the death of Lycurgus, and specially since the great earthquake that happened at Sparta, at which time the Ilotes rose against them with the Messenians, and did great mischief through the countrie, and put the cittie to the greatest distresse and daunger that ever it had. For I cannot be persuaded, that ever Lycurgus invented, or instituted, so wicked and mischievous an acte, as that kynde of ordinaunce was: bicause I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and justice wee see he used in all his other doings, and was witnessed besides by open oracle from the goddes, for a just and wise man. Furthermore, they saye of him, that when he sawe the chiefest pointes of his government had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his common weale went on, and was strong enough to mainteine and keepe it selfe a foote, like as Plato sayeth, that God rejoyced greately after he had made the worlde, and sawe the same turne and move his first moving: even so Lycurgus taking singular pleasure and delight in his minde, to see his notable lawes put in use, and so well stablished and liked of by experience, sought yet to make them immortall, as neere as he could possible, by any forecast of man, that no after time whatsoever, might chaunge or put them downe. To bring this to passe, he caused all the people to assemble, and tolde them he thought his civill pollicie and state of common weale was already sufficiently established, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behinde of greater importance than all the rest, which he could not yet declare unto them, untill he had first asked counsell of the oracle of Apollo. And therefore in the meane time they should keepe and observe his lawes and ordinaunces inviolablie, without chaunging, removing, or staying any matter therein, untill he were returned from the cittie of Delphes, and then they should doe that other thing behinde, if the God then so counselled him. They all promised him to doe it, and prayed him to make hast to goe on his jorney. But before he departed, he made the Kings and Senatours sweare first, and consequently all the people after, that they would keepe his lawes and ordinaunces

Plato in *Timæo.*

Lycurgus wonderfull counsell in stablishing his lawes.

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LYCURGUS

without chaunging or altering any thing, untill he did returne againe. This done, he went to the cittie of Delphes, where so sone as he arrived, he sacrificed in the temple to Apollo, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man an happy life. Apollo made him aunswer, his lawes were very good, and that his cittie keping them, should be the most renowmed of the worlde. Lycurgus caused this oracle to be written, which he sent to Sparta. After he sacrificed to Apollo againe: and then taking leave of his friendes, and of his sonne, he determined to dye, bicause his cittizens should never be released of the othe they had made betweene his handes. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hathe strength enough to live lenger: and yet was olde enough also to dye if he would. Wherefore finding him selfe happy to have obteined his desire, he willingly pyned him selfe to death, by abstinence, and lacke of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit ever to the common weale, and that the ende of their life should be no more idle, or unprofitable, then the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious actes, to have their death extolled for worthines. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and crowne of his felicitie, after he had made and ordeined so many good and notable lawes, for the honour and benefit of his countrie: and should be as a seale of confirmation of his lawe, and the continuall preservitour of his cittie, considering all his cittizens had sworne to keepe them all inviolably, untill he were returned. He was not deceaved of his hope, for his cittie was the chiefest of the worlde, in glorie and honour of government, by the space of five hundred yeres. For so long his cittie kept his lawes without any chaunge or alteration by any of the Kings successours, untill king Agis, the sonne of Archidamus beganne to reigne. For the creation of the Ephores, did not breake, nor discontinewe any of the lawes of Lycurgus, but reduced them rather to a more straight and strickt order: although it seemed at the first that the Ephores were ordeined, for the maintenaunce and defence of the libertie of the people, whereas in deede they

Lycurgus death.

Sparta florished five hundred yeres.

Lycurgus lawes were broken in king Agis time, by Lysanders meanes.

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did also strengthen the authoritie of the Kings and Senate. Nowe in the raigne of king Agis, gold and silver beganne first to creepe in againe to the cittie of Sparta, by meanes of Lysander. With money there came in straight covetousnes, and gredines to get and gather. And although Lysander was not desirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and covetousnes into the countrie, and filled the same with all finenes, by bringing in great store of golde and silver from the warres, directly against the lawes and ordinaunces of Lycurgus. The which so long as they were in force and use, it appered that the government of Sparta seemed not to be a pollicy or common weale, but rather a certaine holy place and order of religion. And even as the Poets fayne, that Hercules went through the world with his clubbe, and lyons skynne, punishing cruell robbers and unnaturall tyrannes: so in like case with a litle scrowe of parchement, and a poore cape, did the Spartans commaund and geve lawes, to all the rest of Grece, even with their good liking and consent. And they chased the tyrannes awaye, which usurped tyrannicall power over any of their citties, and did decide all controversies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one souldier, but only a simple poore ambassadour. At whose commaundement, the people presently assembled like the bees, which gather together about their King, so soone as they spye him: they did then so greatly reverence the good government and justice of the Spartans. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which saye, the cittie of Lacedæmon could obey well, but not commaunde: and for proofe they alleage wordes of king Theopompus, who aunswered one which sayd, that Sparta was mainteined, bicause the Kings could commaund well: Naye the rather (sayd he) bicause the cittizens can obey well. For men commonly disdaine to obey those, which are not wise in commaunding. So that the faithfull obedience of the subjectes, dependeth much upon the sufficient commaundement of the wise prince. For he that directeth well, must needes be well obeyed. For like as the arte of a good rider, is to make his horse gentle, and ready at commaundement: even so the chiefest pointe

Money corrupteth Lycurgus lawes.

See more in Lysanders life.

Lysander brought in riches againe into Sparta.

Theopompus wordes of obeying and commaunding.

Good government breedeth due obedience.

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LYCURGUS

belonging to a prince, is to teach his subjects to obey. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians procured, that not onely other people did willingly obey them, but also desired to be ruled, and commaunded by them. For they asked them, neither shippes nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men of warre to compell them, but onely they sent one cittizen of Sparta to governe them, to whom all the other people submitted them selves, and were holpen by him in their necessitie, as fearing and reverencing him. In this wise the Sicilians were holpen by Gysippus, the Chalcidians by Brasidas, and all the Grecians inhabiting Asia, by Lysander, Callicratidas, and by Agesilaus, who were called the reformers and directors of princes, peoples, and Kings, unto whom they were sent here and there: but ever they had their eye upon the cittie of Sparta, as upon the most perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to governe a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery worde spoken in jest by Stratonicus: Who said he did order the Athenians to tend their sacrifices, and the Elians to tende their games: and if they made any faulte therein, the Lacedæmonians should be well whipped. That was merely spoken, and in a jesting manner. But Antisthenes (the philosopher and one of Socrates scholers) seeing the Thebans growen very hawtie and glorious, after that they had conquered the Lacedæmonians in the jorney of Leuctres: Me thinketh sayed he, these Thebans here doe like the schoole boyes, which bragge and rejoyce when they have a litle beaten their master. But this was not Lycurgus meaning, to have his cittie to commaunde many. But he thought the felicitie of a cittie, as of a private man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the unitie of the inhabitants thereof. He framed his common wealth to this ende, that his cittizens should be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might mainteine and keepe themselves long in safetie. The self same intention had Plato, Diogenes, and Zenon, in setting forth their bookes, which they wrote of the government of common weales: and so had likewise many other great and learned men which have written of the same

Antisthenes, Socrates schollers wordes.

The foundation of a common weale.

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matter. Howbeit they only left behinde them, wordes, and written bookes: but Lycurgus contrariwise, left no written bookes nor pamplets, but stablished and left behinde him, a royall forme of government, which no man ever before had invented, nor never after could be followed. He hath made them plainely see, a whole cittie live together, and governe it selfe philosophically, according to the true rules and preceptes of perfect wisdome: which imagined, that true wisedome was a thing hanging in the ayer, and could not visiblie be seene in the worlde. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glorie all those, which ever tooke upon them to write or stablishe the government of a common weale. And therefore sayeth Aristotle, that after his death they did him lesse honour in Lacedæmonia, then he had deserved: albeit they did him all the honour they possibly could devise. And yet they buylt a temple for him, and made solemne sacrifice to him every yere, as unto a god. More, they saye, that when the ashes of his bodie were brought to Sparta, there fell straight lightning upon his tumbe where they were put: which they had not often seene to happen, to other men of name after their decease, saving only to the poet Euripides, who dying in Macedonia, was buried neere the cittie of Arethusa. The which is some manifest argument, for suche as love the Poet, to laye against those which somewhat deprave him, seing this signe came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well beloved man of the goddes. Some saye Lycurgus died in the cittie of Cirrha. But Apollothemis sayeth, he died in Elida. Timæus and Aristoxenus write, he ended his dayes in Creta. And Aristoxenus sayeth further, that those of the Ile of Creta doe shewe his grave in the place which they call Pergamia, by the broade highe wayes. He left one onely begotten sonne named Antiorus, who died without issue, so that his house and name fayled with him. But his neere kinsemen and famillier friendes, did set up a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they assembled, were called the Lycurgides. There is another Aristocrates (the sonne of Hipparchus) who sayeth, that he being dead in Creta, his friendes burned his

Divine honours to Lycurgus after his death.

Antiorus Lycurgus sonne.

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bodie, and afterwardes threwe his ashes into the sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any parte of him should at any time have bene brought to Sparta, the inhabitans would have sayed he was returned againe, and thereby would have thought them selves discharged of their othe, and might have lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and ende of Lycurgus life.

THE ENDE OF LYCURGUS LIFE

THE LIFE OF NUMA POMPILIUS

In what time Numa was. Cicero *de Or.* 2. and *Tuscul.* 4. *Liv. Halic.* lib. 2.

THE Historiographers differ marvelously of the time, in which Numa Pompilius raigned King, albeit some will derive from him many noble houses descended in Rome. For one Clodius, who wrote the booke intituled the table of time, affirmeth that the auncient registers of the cittie of Rome were lost when it was taken and sacked by the Gaules: and that those which are extant at this daye be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratifie some, which have thrust in auncient houses and families of the first Romaines, that concerne nothing them whom they ment to represent. On the other side, although the common opinion be, that Numa was a familier friend and scholler of Pythagoras the philosopher, yet some saye he was never learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. And yet mainteining that it is possible enough, that he was so well borne, and had suche perfection in all kind of vertue, that he never neded any master: and though he had neded, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this King unto some other foreane person, that was more excellent then Pythagoras. Other saye, that Pythagoras the philosopher was long time after the raigne of Numa, and well nighe five ages after him. Howbeit other saye, there

Whether Pythagoras had any conversation with Numa.

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was another Pythagoras borne in Sparta (who having wonne the pryse of running at the games Olympicall, in the sixtenth Olympiade, and the third yere of Numaes raigne) did come into Italie, where he kept much about Numa, and did assist and helpe him in the governing and ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many customes yet of the Laconians, mingled with the Romaines, which this second Pythagoras was sayed to have taught him. Nevertheles it is not confessed that Numa was borne of the Sabynes, which they saye are descended from the Lacedæmonians. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when Numa was, and chiefly for suche as will followe the rolle or table of those, which from Olympiades to Olympiades have wonne the pryses of games Olympicall: considering the rolle or table that they have at this present, was very lately published by one Hippias an Elian, who delivereth no reason or argument of necessitie, why it should be taken for an undoubted trothe, which he in that sorte hath gathered. Yet we will not leave to put in writing those things worthie of memorie, which we could gather by any meanes of king Numa, beginning at that place which we thought to be meetest. It was nowe sithence Rome was buylt, seven and thirtie yeres (for so long time raigned Romulus) when Romulus the fifte of the moneth of Iuly (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a solemne sacrifice without the cittie, neere to a certaine place commonly called, the goate marshe. As all the whole Senate, with the most parte of the people were present at this sacrifice, sodainely there rose in the ayer a very great tempest, and a marvelous darcke thicke clowde, which fell on the earthe with suche boysterous windes, stormes, lightnings, and thunder: that the poore common people being affrayed of so sore a tempest, dispersed them selves sodainely, running here and there for succour, and therewithall king Romulus vanished awaye in suche sorte, that he was never after seene alive nor dead. This brought the Senatours, and noble men whom they called Patricians, into great suspition. And there ranne a fowle tale among the common people, howe they had a long time borne very impaciently to be subjects to a King, bicause

Pythagoras the seconde, a Spartan borne, taught Numa, at Rome.

The death of Romulus.

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NUMA POMPILIUS

them selves would have had and taken upon them some soveraine authoritie, and that for this cause they had killed king Romulus. Adding somewhat more unto it, howe a litle before he had used them more roughely, and commaunded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Nevertheles they found the meanes to quenche all these bruites and murmurings, by doing divine honour and sacrifice unto him, as one not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the noblest men among them called Proclus came in, and by othe affirmed before all the people, that he sawe Romulus ascending up into heaven, armed at all peces, and that he heard a voyce saye: From henceforth call him Quirinus. This being thus appeased, there sprange up another trouble, to knowe whom they should choose in his place. For the straungers which were come then from other places to dwell in Rome, were not yet throughly joyned to the naturall borne Romaines: in so muche, as the common people dyd not only waver, and stagger up and down in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many and of divers nations) did enter into a suspition one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessitie they must choose a King: howbeit in the rest they differed much, not only whom they should choose, but also of what nation he should be. For those which were the first founders and buylders of the cittie of Rome with Romulus, could in no wise abide, nor suffer, that the Sabynes (to whom they had divided parte of their landes, and a moytie of their cittie) should attempt and presume to commaund them, whom they dyd receyve and associate into their company and felowshippe. The Sabynes alledged on thother side for them, a good reason, and such as caried great probabilitie. Which was, that never sence the death of their king Tatius, they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted king Romulus, but had suffered him to raigne peaceably: and therefore Romulus being nowe deceased, reason would that the newe King should be chosen of their nation. And that albeit the Romaines had receyved them into their cittie, they could not say therefore, that in time of this association, they were lesse to be reckoned of in any

In the life of Romulus he is named Proculus, f.

Dissention at Rome about choosing of their King.

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thing, than them selves. Further they added, that in joyning with them, the Romaines had doubly increased their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deserved the honour and title of a cittie. These were the causes of their contention. But to prevent that of this contention there might growe no confusion in the cittie, if it should remaine without an head to commaund: the Senatours which were a hundred and fiftie in number, gave counsell that every one of them by turnes, one after another, should carie the royall state of the King, and all the showes and ornaments of his majestie, and should doe the ordinarie sacrifices of the King, and dispatche all causes sixe howers in the daye, and sixe howers in the night, as the King before had used. Thus they thought it best to devide the rule, that one might have asmuch power as the other, aswell in respect of them selves, as also for regarde of the people. For they imagined, that the chaunging and removing thus of this regall dignitie, and passing it from man to man, would clene take awaye envie among them, and make every of them to rule temperately, and uprightly see, that in one, and the selfe same daye and night, every of them should be a King and private persone also. The Romaines call this manner of regiment in vacation, *Interregnum*: as you would saye, rule for the time. Nowe albeit their government was very modest and civill, yet they could not for all that keepe them selves from falling into the suspition, and slaunder of the people: who gave it out straight, that this was a fine devise of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the Realme into a fewe noble mens handes, to the ende that the whole authoritie and government of all publicke causes, should remaine still in them selves, bicause it grieved them to be subject to a King. And in the ende, the two partes of the cittie came to this agreement: that the one parte should choose one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This course they liked very well, aswell for the pacification of present sturre and dissention amongest them selves, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and sturring up a likenes of goodwill in the King that thus indifferently should be chosen: whereby he should love the one parte for that they had

Livie sayeth but a hundred.

Dionysius 200.

Plutar. in the life of Romulus agreeth with Dionysius.

Interregnum.

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NUMA POMPILIUS

chosen him, and likewise the other parte for that he was of their nation. The Sabynes were the first, which referred the election to the Romaines choyse: and the Romaines thought it better to chuse one of the nation of the Sabynes, then to have a Romaine chosen by the Sabynes. After they had consulted, they determined amongest them selves: and did choose Numa Pompilius one of the bodye of the Sabynes to be King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at Rome, howbeit he was a man so famous for his vertue, that the Sabynes so soone as they named him, did receyve him more willingly, then they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their election, the first and chiefest persones of the one and the other side, were chosen out to goe unto him. Now Numa Pompilius was borne in one of the chiefest and best citties which the Sabynes had, called Cures, whereupon the Romaines, and their fellowes the Sabynes, were called afterwardes Quirites, and he was the sonne of Pomponius a noble man, the youngest of foure brethern: being by the secret worcking of the goddes, borne on the very daye, on the which Rome was first founded by Romulus, which was the one and twenty daye of Aprill. This man being naturally geven and inclined unto all vertue, did yet increase the same, by studie, and all kynde of good discipline: and by the exercise thereof, and of true pacience, and right philosophie, he did marvelously adorne him selfe and his manners. For he did not only clere his soule, and minde, of all passions and vices commonly used in the worlde: but he conquered in him selfe all heates, violence, and covetousnes. And would neither seeke nor usurpe, that which was an other mans, a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people: but thought that to be the true, and right victorie in man, first to conquer and commaund him selfe by judgement and reason, and then to subdue all covetousnes and greedines. Having therfore this opinion, he would in no wise have in his house any superfluity or finenes. He became to every man that would employe him (aswell straunger as his owne countrie man) a wise counsaillour, and an upright judge. He bestowed his leysure, not to followe his owne delight, or to gather goods

Numa chosen King.

Numa borne in the cittie of Cures.

Quirites why so called.

The life and manners of Numa before his raigne.

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together: but to serve the goddes, and to behold their celestiall nature and power, as much as mans reason and understanding could comprehend. Thereby he got so great a name and reputation, that Tatius (which was king of Rome with Romulus) having but one onely daughter called Tatia, made him his sonne in lawe. Howbeit this mariage put him in no such jolity, that he would dwel at Rome with his father in lawe, but rather kept at home at his own house in the countrie of the Sabynes, there to serve and cherishe his olde father with his wife Tatia: who for her parte also liked better, to live quietly with her husband being a private man, then to goe to Rome where she might have lived in much honour and glorie, by meanes of the King her father. She died as it is reported, 13 yeres after she was maried. After her deathe, Numa leaving to dwell in the cittie, was better contented to live in the country alone, and solitarie, and gave him self to walke much in the fields and woddes consecrated to the godds, as one desirous to leade alone life, farre from the companie of men. Wherupon was raised (in my opinion) that which is spoken of him, and of the goddesse Egeria. That it was not for any straungenes, or melancholines of nature, that Numa withdrew him self from the conversation and company of men, but bicause he had found another more honorable and holy society of the Nymphe, and goddesse Egeria, who had done him, as they saye, that honour, as to make him her husband: with whom as his beloved darling it is sayed he enjoyed happy dayes, and by dayly frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the love and knowledge of all celestiall things. Surely, these devises are much like unto certain old fables of the Phrygians, which they having learned from the father to the sonne, doe love to tell of one Atis: of the Bithynians, of one Herodotus: of the Arcadians, of one Endymion: and of many other such like men, who in their lives were taken for sayntes, and beloved of the goddes. Notwithstanding, it is likely, that the goddes love neither birdes, nor horse, but men, and have sometimes a liking to be familliar with perfect good men, and doe not disdaine sometime the conversation of suche as be holye, religious, and devoute. But to beleeve the goddes have carnall knowledge, and doe delight in the

Tatia the wife of Numa.

Numa conversant with the goddesse Egeria.

Goddes familliar with men.

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NUMA POMPILIUS

outward beawtie of creatures, that seemeth to carie a very harde beliefe. Yet the wise Egyptians thincke it probable enough and likely, that the spirite of the goddes hath geven originall of generation to women, and doe beget fruite of their bodies: howbeit they holde that a man can have no corporall companie with any divine nature. Wherein they doe not consider, that every thing that joyneth together, doth deliver againe a like substaunce, to that wherewith it was joyned. This notwithstanding, it is mete we should beleeve the godds beare good will to men, and that of it doth spring their love, whereby men saye the goddes love those whose manners they purifie, and inspire with vertue. And they doe not offende, which fayne that Phorbas, Hyacinthus and Admetus, were sometimes the lovers of Apollo, and also Hippolytus the Sicyonian: of whom they reporte, that ever when he passed over the arme of the sea which lieth betweene the citties of Sicyona, and of Cirrha, the god which knewe he came, rejoyced, and caused Pythia the prophetesse to pronounce these heroycall verses,

I knowe full well, my deare Hippolytus,
returnes by sea, my minde divineth thus.

Who are beloved of the goddes.

It is sayd also that Pan was in love with Pindarus and his verses, and that the goddes honored the poets Hesiodus, and Archilocus, after their death by the Muses. They saye moreover, that Æsculapius laye with Sophocles in his life time, and at this daye they doe yet showe many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honorably buried. Nowe if they graunte, that such things maye be true: how can we refuse to beleeve, that some goddes have bene familliar with Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroastres, Lycurgus, Numa, and such other like personages, which have governed kingdomes, and stablished common weales? and it is not unlike that the goddes in deede dyd company with them, to inspire and teache them many notable things, and that they did drawe neere unto these Poets, and players of the harpe, that made and played many dolefull and joyfull ditties, at the least for their sporte and pleasure onely, if ever they came neere them. Nevertheles

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if any man be of other opinion, the waye is open and large as Bacchylides sayed, to thincke and saye as he lust. For my selfe I doe finde, that which is written of Lycurgus, Numa, and other suche persones, not to be without likelyhood and probabilitie: who having to governe rude, churlishe, and stiffe necked people, and purposing to bring in straunge novelties into the governments of their countries, did fayne wisely to have conference with the godds, considering this fayning fell to be profitable and beneficiall to those them selves, whom they made to beleeve the same. But to returne to our historie. Numa was fourty yeres olde, when the ambassadours of Rome were sent to present the Kingdome unto him, and to intreate him to accept thereof. Proclus, and Velesus, were the ambassadours that were sent. One of the which the people looked should have bene chosen for King, bicause those of Romulus side, did favour muche Proclus: and those of Tatius parte favored Velesus. Nowe they used no long speache unto him, bicause they thought he would have bene glad of suche a great good fortune. But contrarely it was in deede a very hard thing, and required great persuasions, and much intreatie, to move a man which had allwayes lived quietly, and at ease, to accept the regiment of a cittie, which as a man would saye, had bene raysed up and growen by warres, and martiall dedes. Wherfore he aunswered them in the presence of his father, and one other of his kinsemen called Martius in this sorte: Chaunge and alteration of mans life is ever daungerous: but for him that lacketh nothing necessarie, nor hath cause to complaine of his present state, it is a great follie to leave his olde acquainted trade of life, and to enter into another newe and unknowen, if there were no other but this only respect: that he leaveth a certaintie, to venter upon an uncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the daungers and perills of this kingdom which they offer me, are not altogether uncertain, if we wil looke backe what happened unto Romulus. Who was not unsuspected to have layed waite, to have had Tatius his fellow and companion murdered: and now after Romulus death, the Senatours selves are mistrusted to have killed him on the other side by

Proclus and Velesus ambassadours to offer Numa the kingdom.

The oration of Numa to the ambassadours refusing to be King.

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treason. And yet they saye it, and singe it every where: that Romulus was the sonne of a god, that at his birthe he was miraculously preserved, and afterwardes he was as incrediblie brought up. Whereas for my owne parte, I doe confesse, I was begotten by a mortall man, and was fostered, brought up, and taught by men as you know: and these fewe qualities which they prayse and commend in me, are conditions farre unmete for a man that is to raigne. I ever loved a solitarie life, quiet and studie, and did exempt my selfe from worldly causes. All my life time I have sought and loved peace above all things, and never had to doe with any warres. My conversation hath bene to companie with men, which meete only to serve and honour the goddes, or to laughe and be merie one with another, or els to spende their time in their private affayers, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas Romulus (my Romaine lordes) hath left you many warres begonne, which peradventure you could be contented to spare: yet now to mainteine the same, your citie had neede of a martiall King, active, and strong of bodye. Your people moreover, through long custome, and the great increase they are geven unto by feates of armes, desire nought els perhappes but warres: and it is plainely seene, they seeke still to growe, and commaund their neighbours. So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a mere mockerie for me, to goe to teache a cittie at this present to serve the goddes, to love justice, to hate warres, and to flye violence: when it rather hath neede of a conquering captaine, then of a peaceable King. These and suche other like reasons and persuasions Numa alleaged, to discharge him selfe of the Kingdome which they offred him. Howbeit the ambassadours of the Romaines most humbly besought and prayed him with all instance possible, that he would not be the cause of another newe sturre, and commotion among them, seeing both partes in the cittie have geven their consent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreover, when the ambassadours had left him upon this sute, his father, and Martius his kinseman, beganne also privately to perswade him, that he should not

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refuse so good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his present state, and desired to be no richer than he was, nor coveted no princely honour nor glorie, bicause he sought only most famous vertue: yet he must needes thincke, that to rule well, was to doe the goddes good service, whose will it was to employe the justice they knewe in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refuse not therefore (quoth they) this royall dignitie, which to a grave and wise man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable workes and fruites. There you maye doe noble service to the godds, to humble the heartes of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readely turne, and easely conforme them selves unto the nature of their prince. They dearely loved Tatius, although he was a straunger: they have consecrated a memorie to Romulus with divine honours, which they make unto him at this daye. And it maye be, that the people seeing them selves conquerers, will be full enough of warres: and the Romaines being nowe full of spoyles and triumphes, will be glad to have a gentle prince, and one that loveth justice, that they maye thenceforth live in peace, under good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hartes be still full of heate and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their desire to make warres some other waye, when a man hathe the bridle in his owne handes to doe it, and to be a meane in the meane time to joyne the countrie, and all the nation of the Sabynes, in perpetuall love and amitie, with so mighty and florishing a cittie? besides all these persuasions and reasons, there were many signes also (as they saye) which promised him good lucke, together with the earnest affection and liking of his owne countrie cittizens. Who, so soone as they understoode the coming, and commission of the ambassadours of Rome, they importunately desired him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more straightly unite and incorporate them together with the Romaines. Whereupon, Numa accepted the Kingdome. Then after he had done sacrifice to the goddes, he set forwardes on his journey towardes Rome: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonderfull

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Numa beginneth his kingdome with service of the goddes.

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desire to see him. The women at his entrie, went blessing of him, and singing of his prayses. They dyd sacrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to be as joyfull and glad: as if a newe Realme, and not a newe Kinge, had bene come to the cittie of Rome. Thus was he brought with this open joye, and rejoycing, unto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called Spurius Vettius, made them pronounce his open election: and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought unto him the tokens of honour and dignitie of the King. But he him selfe commaunded they should be stayed a while, saying: He must first be confirmed King by the goddes. Then he tooke the wise men and priests, with whom he went up into the Capitoll, which that time was yet called mounte Tarpeian. And there, the chiefest of the soothesayers called Augures, turned him towardes the southe, having his face covered with a veyle, and stoode behinde him, laying his right hande upon his heade, and praying to the goddes that it would please them to declare their willes by flying of birdes, or some other token concerning this election: and so the soothesayer cast his eyes all about, as farre as he could possiblie discerne. During all this time there was a marvelous silence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were assembled there together, attending with great devotion what the issue of this divination would be: untill there appeared unto them on the right hande, good and lucky birdes, which did confirme the election. Then Numa putting on his regall robes, came downe from mounte Tarpeian, into the market place, where all the people receyved him with wonderfull showtes of joye, as a man the most holy, and best beloved of the goddes that they could have chosen. So having taken the royall seate of the Kingdome, his first acte was this. That he discharged the garde of the three hundred souldiers, which Romulus had allwayes about his persone, called Celeres: saying, he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King over people, which should mistrust him. His second acte was, that he did adde

Numa was consecrated by the Augures.

The garde of Celeres discharged by Numa.

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to the two priests of Iupiter and Mars, a thirde, in the honour of Romulus, who was called Flamen Quirinalis. For the auncient Romaines also called their priests, instituted in the olde time, *Flamines*, by reason of certaine litle narrowe hattes which they did weare on their heades, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for *Pilos* in Greeke signifieth a hatte. And at that time (as they saye) there were many moe Greeke wordes mingled with the Latine, then there are at this daye. For they called the mantells the Kings did weare *Lænas*. And Iuba sayeth that it is the very same which the Grecians call *Chlænas*, and that the younge boye which was a servaunte in the temple of Iupiter, was called Camillus, as some of the Grecians doe yet call the god Mercurie, bicause he is servaunt of the godds. Now Numa having done these things at his first entrie into his Kingdome, still to winne further favour and goodwill of the people: beganne immediately to frame his cittizens to a certaine civilitie, being as iron wrought to softenes, and brought them from their violent and warlike desires, to temperate and civill manners. For out of doubt, Rome was properly that, which Plato ascribeth to a cittie full of trouble and pryde. For, first it was founded by the most coragious and warlike men of the worlde, which from all partes were gathered there together, in a most desperate boldnes: and afterwards it increased, and grewe strong, by armes and continuall warres, like as pyles driven into the grounde, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and sticke the faster. Wherefore Numa judging it no small nor light enterprise, to plucke downe the hawty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them unto a sobre and quiet life: dyd seeme to worcke it by meanes of the goddes, with drawing them on thereto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their whotte and fierce corages to fight, with sacrifices, feastes, dauncings, and common processions, wherein he celebrated ever him selfe. In the which together with their devotion, there was mingled nowe and then, pastime and pleasure: and sometimes he layed the terrour and feare of the goddes before their eyes, making them beleeve that he had seene straunge visions, or that he had heard voyces, by which the goddes dyd threaten them

Flamen Quirinalis instituted of Numa.

Numa inducteth civill and quiet life.

Plato *de Rep.* lib. 2.

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with some great troubles and plagues, allwayes to pull downe and humble their heartes, unto the feare of the goddes. This was the cause why they thought afterwardes that he had learned his wisdome of Pythagoras the philosopher: bicause the greatest parte of the philosophie of the one, and of the government of the other, consisted in suche ceremonies, and divine studies. They reporte also that Numa dyd put on the outwarde showe and semblaunce of Pythagoras holines, as following his intention and example. For Pythagoras as they saye, made an eagle so tame and gentle, that she would stoupe, and come downe to him by certaine voyces, as she flewe in the ayer over his head. And that passing through the assembly of the games Olympicall, he shewed her thighe of golde, and many other prety feates and deedes they tell of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which Timon Phliasian hath written these verses of him:

Numa and Pythagoras institutions muche a like.

Pythagoras which loved to dwell in dignitie,
and had an harte to glorie bent, and past in pollecie,
Muche like a man which sought, by charming to enchaunte,
did use this arte, to winne mens mindes, which unto him did haunte.
His grave and pleasaunt tongue, in sugred speache did flowe,
whereby he drewe most mindes of men, to bent of his owne bowe.

Even so the fayned fable of Numa, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the love of a goddesse, or some Nymphe of the mountaine: with whom he seemed to have certaine secret meetings and talke, whereof we have spoken before. And it is sayed he muche frequented the Muses in the woddes. For he would saye, he had the most parte of his revelations of the Muses, and he taught the Romaines to reverence one of them above all the rest, who was called Tacita, as ye would saye, ladye silence. It seemeth he invented this, after the example of Pythagoras, who did so specially commaund, and recomend silence unto his schollers. Againe, if we consider what Numa ordeined concerning images, and the representation of the goddes, it is alltogether agreable unto the doctrine of Pythagoras: who thought that god was neither sensible, nor mortall, but invisible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And Numa dyd forbid the Romaines also to beleeve, that god had ever forme, or likenes of beast or man.

Numa worshipped Tacita one of the Muses.

Pythagoras taught his schollers to kepe silence.

Pythagoras opinion of God.

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So that in those former times, there was in Rome no image of god, either painted or graven: and it was from the beginning a hundred three score and tenne yeres, that they had buylt temples and chappels unto the godds in Rome, and yet there was neither picture nor image of god within them. For they tooke it at the first for a sacriledge, to present heavenly things by earthely formes: seeing we cannot possibly any waye attaine to the knowledge of god, but in minde and understanding. The very sacrifices which Numa ordeined, were altogether agreable, and like unto the manner of serving of the goddes, which the Pythagorians used. For in their sacrifices they spilt not the bloude, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle sheading of wine and milke, and with suche other light things. Suche as affirme that those two men did much company and were famillier together, doe laye further proofes and arguments for the same. The first is this: That the Romaines did make Pythagoras a free man of the cittie of Rome, as Epicharmus the Comicall poet an auncient writer (and sometimes one of Pythagoras schollers) sayeth in a booke he wrote and dedicated unto Antenor. The other proofe is: That Numa having had foure children, called one of them Mamercus, after Pythagoras sonnes name, from whom they saye is discended, the house of the Æmylians, which is the noblest of the Patricians: for the King gave him the surname of Æmylius, bicause of his sweete tongue and pleasaunt voyce. Furthermore, I my self have heard saye many times in Rome, that the Romaines having receyved an oracle, which commaunded them to set up images in their cittie, to the wisest and valliantest man that ever was amongest the Grecians: caused two statues of brasse to be set up in their market place, the one of Pythagoras, and the other of Alcibiades. Howbeit to strive about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubtes: me thincketh it were but vaine. Moreover, they attribute to Numa, the first erection of the colledge pontificall: and saye he him selfe was the first Pontifex that ever was. But touching the name of Pontifex, some will saye they were so called, bicause they chiefly were ordeined and appointed for the service of the almightie: for

Numa forbad images of God.

Proofes for the conversation of Numa and Pythagoras.

Numa instituteth Bishoppes.

Pontifices why so called.

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this word *Potens* in the Romaine tongue, betokeneth mightie. Other thincke this name was geven to them by their founders, as to exempt persones out of the worlde: who enjoyned them to doe all the service and sacrifices to the goddes they could possibly, and yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most parte doe bring out another derivation of this name, wherein me thinckes there is litle reason. As that they should be called Pontifices, bicause they had the charge of maintenaunce of the bridge. For that which the Grecians call *Gephyran*, the Latines call *Pontem*: that is, 'a bridge.' And to saye truely, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the bishoppes: aswell as the keeping of the most holy and unchaungeable ceremonies. For the Romaines thought it not only a thing unlawfull, but tooke it for a most damnable and wicked acte, to destroye or breake the bridge of wodde, which was only joyned together (as they saye) with pinnes of wodde, and without any iron at all, by the commaundement of an olde oracle. But the stone bridge was buylt long time after the raigne of Numa, and in the time of the raigne of his nephewe Martius. Nowe the first and chiefest of these bishoppes, which they call the great Pontifex, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the highe prieste and master, of their pontificall lawe: who should be carefull, not only about all publicke sacrifices and ceremonies, but also about suche as were private, and to see that no man privately should breake the auncient ceremonies, nor bring in any newe thing into religion, but rather every man should be taught by him, how, and after what sorte he should serve and honour the goddes. He also hath the keping of the holy virgines which they call Vestales. For they doe geve Numa the first foundation and consecrating of them, and the institution also of keeping the immortall fire with honour and reverence, which these virgines have the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to commit the substaunce of fire (being pure and cleane) unto the custodie of cleane and uncorrupt maydes: or els bicause he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth

The wodden bridge at Rome.

The highe bishoppe.

The institution of the Vestall Nunnes.

The holy and immortal fire.

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forth nothing) was fittest, and most proper unto virgines. For in Grece, where they kept continuall fire likewise (as in the temple of Apollo in Delphes, and at Athens) the maydens doe not keepe the same, but olde women which are past mariage. And if this fire chaunce to faile, as they saye in Athens the holy lampe was put out in the time of the tyrannie of Aristion: and in the cittie of Delphes it was put out, when the temple of Apollo was burnt by the Medes: and at Rome also, in the time of the warres that the Romaines had against king Mithridates: and in the time of the civill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and consumed together: they saye that it must not be lighted againe with other common fire, but must be made a newe, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the sunne, and that they doe in this manner. They have a hollowe vessell made of a pece of a triangle, having a corner right, and two sides a like: so that from all partes of his compasse and circumference, it falleth into one pointe. Then they set this vessell right against the beames of the sunne, so that the bright sunne beames come to assemble and gather together in the center of this vessell, where they doe pearce the ayer so strongely, that they set it a fire: and when they put to it any drye matter or substaunce, the fire taketh it straight, bicause the beame of the sunne, by meanes of the reverberation, putteth that drye matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thincke that these Vestall virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which never goeth out. Other saye, there are other holy thinges also, which no bodie maye lawfully see but they: whereof we have written more largely in the life of Camillus, at the least so much as maye be learned and tolde. The first maydens which were vowed and put into this order of religion by Numa, were (as they saye) Gegania, and Verenia: and after them, Canuleia and Tarpeia. Afterwardes king Servius increased the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth untill this daye. Their rule and order set downe by king Numa was this: that they should vowe chastitie for the space of thirtie yeres. In the first tenne yeres they learne what they have to doe: the next tenne yeres following, they doe that which they have learned: and

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How the holy fire is drawen from the pure flame of the sunne.

See the life of Camillus touching the Vestall Nunnes.

The order appointed the Vestalls by Numa.

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the last tenne yeres, they teache young novices. After they have passed their thirtie yeres, they maye lawfully marie if they be disposed, and take them to another manner of life, and leave their religion. But as it is reported, there have bene very fewe of them which have taken this libertie, and fewer also which have joyed after they were professed, but rather have repented them selves, and lived ever after a very grievous and sorowfull life. This did so fraye the other Vestalls, that they were better contented with their vowed chastitie: and so remained virgines, untill they were olde, or els died. He gave them also great priviledges, and prerogatives. As: to make their will and testament, in their fathers life time. To doe all things without any gardian or overseer, as women which have three children at a birth. When they goe abroade, they carie maces before them to honour them. And if by chaunce they meete any offendour in their waye, going to execution, they save his life: howbeit the professed Vestall must affirme by othe, that she met him unwares, and not of set purpose. If any man presume under their chayer, whereupon they are caried through the cittie, he shall die for it. Also when they them selves doe any faulte, they are corrected by the great byshoppe, who somtimes doth whippe them naked (according to the nature and qualitie of their offence) in a darcke place, and under a curten. But she that hath deflowred her virginity, is buried quicke by one of the gates of the cittie, which they call Collina gate: where within the cittie there is a mount of earth of a good length, and with the Latines is sayed to be raised. Under this forced mount, they make a litle hollowe vawte, and leave a hole open, whereby one maye goe downe: and within it there is set a litle bed, a burning lampe, and some vitells to susteine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honours sake: to the ende they would not be thought to famishe a bodie to deathe, which had bene consecrated by the most holy and devoute ceremonies of the worlde. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they cover strongely, and close it up with thicke leather in suche sorte, that no bodie canne so much as heare her voyce, and so they

The Vestalls prerogatives.

The punishment of the Vestall Nunnes.

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carie her thus shut up through the market place. Every one draweth backe, when they see this litter a farre of, and doe geve it place to passe by: and then follow it mourningly, with heavy lookes, and speake never a word. They doe nothing in the citie more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any daye wherein the people are more sorowful, then on such a daye. Then after she is come to the place of this vawte, the sergeants straight unlose these fast bounde coverings: and the chiefe byshoppe after he hath made certen secret prayers unto the godds, and lift his handes up to heaven, taketh out of the litter, the condemned Vestall muffled up close, and so putteth her upon the ladder, which conveyeth her downe into the vawte. That done, he withdraweth, and all the priestes with him: and when the seely offendour is gone downe, they straight plucke up the ladder, and cast aboundance of earthe in at the open hole, so that they fill it up to the very toppe of the arche. And this is the punishment of the Vestalls which defile their virginitie. They thincke also it was Numa that buylt the round temple of the goddesse Vesta, in which is kept the everlasting fire: meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which they saye is Vesta, but the figure of the whole world, in the middest whereof (according to the Pythagorians opinion) remaineth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call Vesta, and name it the unitie. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is unmoveable, nor yet that it is set in the middest of the world, neither that the heaven goeth about it: but saye to the contrarie, that the earth hanged in the ayer about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they graunte, that the earth is one of the first and chiefest partes of the world: as Plato helde opinion in that age, that the earthe was in another place then in the very middest, and that the center of the world, as the most honorablest place, did apperteine to some other of more worthy substaunce than the earthe. Furthermore, the byshoppes office was to show those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customes of buriall: whom Numa taught not to beleeve that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burialles, but rather it was to

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The temple of Vesta representeth the figure of the worlde.

Where the fire abideth.

The manner of buriall.

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worshippe and honour the godds of the earthe, with usuall and honorable ceremonies, as those which after their death receyve the chiefest service of us that they canne. But above all other in burialles, they did specially honour the goddesse called Libitina, that is sayed, the chiefe governour and preserver of the rites of the dead: or be it Prosperina, or Venus, as the most learned men among the Romaines doe judge, who not without cause doe attribute the order of the beginning and ende of mans life, to one self god, and power divine. Numa ordained also, how long time every bodie should mourne in blackes. And for a childe from three yeres to tenne yeres of age, that died: he ordeined they should mourne no more monethes then it had lived yeres, and not to adde a daye more. For he commaunded, that the longest time of mourning should be but ten moneths onely, and so long time at the least he willed women should remaine widdowes, after the decease of their husbands: or els she that would marie within that time, was bounde by his order to sacrifice a whole bullocke. Numa also erected many other orders of priestes: of two sortes whereof I will only make mention. The one shalbe the order of the Salii, and the other of the Feciales: for me thinckes, both the one and the other doth manifestly showe the great holines, and singular devotion which he had in him. The Feciales are properly those, which the Grecians call Irenophylaces, as who would saye, peacekeepers. And in my judgement, they had their right name according to their office, bicause they did pacifie quarells with reason by waye of order, and did not suffer (as much as in them laye) that any matter should be tried by violence, untill they were past all hope of any peace. For the Grecians call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controversie with reason, and not with sworde. Even so those which the Romaines called the Feciales, went many times in persone to those that dyd the Romaines injurie, and sought to persuade them with good reason, to keepe promise with the Romaines, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeld to reason, whom they sought to persuade: then they called the goddes to the witnes thereof, and prayed them, that if they dyd not

Libitina honored at funeralls.

The time of mourning.

Salii, Feciales. Pluta. *Probl.* 62. *Gell.* lib. 16. c. 4.

Feciales called Irenophylaces.

Irenen: a quarrell pacified with reason, without the sword.

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most earnestly incense the Romaines, to pursue that most justely apperteined unto their right, that all evills and mischieves of the warres might fall upon them selves, and on their countrie. This done, they dyd threaten open warres against such enemies. And if the Feciales would not consent to open warres, and dyd happen to speake against them: it was not lawfull in that case, neither for private persone, nor for the King him selfe to make any warres. But like a just prince, he must have leave by their sufferance to make the warres. Then dyd he consider, and consult, by what meanes he might best procure, and prosecute the same. Concerning this matter, they judge that the ill happe which came to the Romaines, when the cittie of Rome was taken and sacked by the Gaules, chaunced justely for breaking of this holy institution. For at that time, the barbarous people besieged the cittie of the Clusinians: and Fabius Ambustus was sent ambassadour unto them, to see if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gave him an ill aunswer: whereupon Fabius thincking his embasie had bene ended, and being somwhat whotte, and rashe in defence of the Clusinians, gave defiaunce to the valliantest Gaule there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune favored him in this chalenge: for he slew the Gaule, and stripped him in the fielde. The Gaules seeing their man slayne, sent immediately an heraulde to Rome, to accuse Fabius, howe against all right and reason, he beganne warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The Feciales being then consulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be delivered into the handes of the Gaules, as one that had broken the lawe of armes, and had deserved it: but he made friends to the people which favored him very much, and by their meanes escaped his deliverie, and punishment. Neverthles, the Gaules within shorte time after, came before Rome with all their power: which they tooke, sacked, and burnt every whit, saving the Capitoll, as we have written more amplie in the life of Carmillus. Now concerning the Priestes that were called Salii, they saye he dyd institute them upon this occasion. In the eight yere of his reigne, there came a pestilent disease through all Italie, and at the length it crept

Rome taken by the Gaules. See Camillus life.

The institution of the Salii.

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A target from heaven.

also into Rome. Whereat every man being greatly affrayed, and discoraged, they saye there fell from heaven a target of copper, which lighted betweene the handes of Numa. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King him selfe affirmed he heard, of the Nymphe Egeria, and the Muses. To wit, that this target was sent from heaven, for the health and preservation of the cittie: and therefore he should keepe it carefully, and cause eleven other to be cast and made, all like unto the same in facion and greatnes, to the ende, that if any would enterprise to steale it, he should not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreover he said, he was commaunded to consecrate the place to the Muses (in the which he dyd oftentimes companie with them) and also the fieldes which were neere thereabouts: and likewise to geve the fountaine that sprange in that place, unto the Vestalls professed, that every daye they might drawe water at that well, to washe the sanctuarie of their temple. The successe hereof proved his words true, for the sicknes ceased incontinently. So he assembled all the chief craftes men then in Rome, to prove which of them would take upon him to make one like unto that. Every man despayred to performe it. Howbeit one called Veturius Mamurius (the excellentest workeman that was in those dayes) dyd make them all so sute like, that Numa him selfe dyd not knowe the first target, when they were all layed together. So he ordeined these priests Salii, to have the custodie of these targets, to see them safe kept. They were called Salii, not after the name of a Salian borne in Samothracia, or in Mantinea, as some have untruely alleaged, who first invented the manner of dauncing all armed: but they were so called, of their facion and manner of dauncing, and leaping. For in the moneth of Marche, they goe skipping and leaping up and downe the cittie, with those targetes on their armes, apparelled in red cassockes without sleves, and girded about with broade leather sworde girdells, studded with copper, having helmets of copper on their heads, and striking upon their targets with shorte daggers, which they carie in their hands. Moreover, all their dauncing consisteth in moving of their feete: for they handle them finely, making tornes

Whereof they were called Salii.

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above ground and beneath, with a sodaine measure, and a marvelous force of agilitie. They call these targets *Ancylia*, bicause of their facion, which is not altogether compasse: for they are not all round as other common targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the endes bowing in many foldes, and one so neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the Grecians call *Ancylon*. Or els they are so called, bicause *Ancon* signifieth an elbow, upon which they carie them. All these derivations are written in the historie of Iuba, who in any case will have this word *Ancylia* to be drawen out of the Greeke tongue. And it maye be also they were so called, bicause the first came from above, which the Grecians call *Anecathen*: or els for healing the sicke, which is called *Acesis*. Or els for ceasing of the drines, which in Greke is called, *Anchmôn Lysis*. Or for the ending of all diseases and evills, for which cause the Athenians call Castor and Pollux, *Anacas*: if they lust to geve this word his derivation from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which Mamurius the goldsmithe had for the making of these targets was, that the Salij unto this daye doe make mention of him, in their songe, which they singe going through the cittie, and daunc-ing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit some thincke they saye not Veturius Mamurius, but *veterem memoriam*, 'auncient 'memorie.' But Numa after he had ordeined and instituted these orders of priests, built his palace neere unto the temple of Vesta, which holdeth his name *Regia* at this daye, to saye, the Kings palace. In which he remained most part of his life, studying either to sacrifice to the goddes, or to teache the Priestes what they should doe, or howe with them he should best contemplate all heavenly things. It is true that he had another house on the hill, which they call at this daye, *Quirinall*, the place whereof is yet to be seene. But in all these sacrifices, ceremonies, and processions of the Priestes, there were allwayes husshers that went before, crying to the people, Kepe silence, and tend upon divine service. For they saye the Pythagorians thought it good, that men should not worshippe the godds, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought

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Ancylia, whereof so called.

Regia, the Kings palace.

The manner of the Romaines worshipping of the goddes.

The Pythagorians opinion touching prayer.

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it mete, that men should of purpose goe out of their houses, to serve and praye unto them. Even so king Numa thought it not meete, that his subjects should come to see, and heare divine service negligently, as it were for a facion, and only to be ryd of it, as heeding an other thing: but he would have them set a side all other busines, and employ their thoughts and harts only upon the principall service of religion, and devotion towards the godds. So that during service time, he would not have heard any noise, any knocking, bounsing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all artificers shoppes of occupation, whereof at this daye yet they see some signes, and tokens, remaining in their sacrifices at Rome. For all the time the Augure beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any sacrifice, the vergers crie alowde: *Hoc age*, which meaneth, 'tend this.' And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wittes home, and to thincke on that which is in hand. Also there are many of his orders like the preceptes of the Pythagorians. For as they dyd warne men, not to sit upon a litle busshell, not to cut fire with a sword, not to looke behinde them when they goe abroade: to sacrifice to the celestiall godds in an odde number, and to the goddes of the earth in an even number, of which precepts, they would not have the common people to have any knowledge or understanding. Even so there are many institutions of Numa, the reasons whereof are hidden and kept secret: as not to offer wine to the godds of the vine never cut, and not to sacrifice unto them without meale: and to turne a turne about when they doe reverence to the godds, and to sit down after they have worshipped them. And as touching the two first ordinances, it seemeth that by them he did recommend clemency, and humanity, as being a parte of the devotion towards the godds. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that worshippe the goddes: they saye it representeth the turning which the element maketh by his moving. But me thincketh it should rather come of this: for that the temples being set to the east, he that worshippeth entring into the temple, sheweth his backe to the West, and for this cause turneth towardes that parte, and afterwards returneth againe

Hoc age, a watcheword to tend divine service.

The similitude of Numa and Pythagoras precepts.

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towards god: doing the whole turne, and ending the consummation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before and behinde. Onles peradventure that he ment secretly to signifie, and geve them to understande by this turning and chaunging of their looke, that which the Egyptians figured by their wheels: in showing therby, that these worldly things were never constant and in one state. And therfore, that we should take it thankfully, and paciently beare it, in what sorte soever it pleased god to chaunge or alter our life. And where he commaunded that they should sit after they had worshipped god: they sayed it was a token of a good hope unto them that prayed, that their prayers should be exalted, and that their goods should remaine safe, and sticke by them. Other saye, that this ease and sitting, is a separating them from doing: and therfore he would they should sit in the temples of the godds, to shew they had done that which they had in hand before, to the end to take of the godds the beginning of another. And it maye well be also, that it was referred to the thing we spake of a litle before. That Numa would accustome his people, not to serve the godds, nor to speake to them at all, as they passed by, or did any other thing, or were in haste: but would have them praye unto the godds when they had time and leysure, and all other busines at that time set a parte. By this good instruction and training them unto religion, the cittie of Rome by litle and litle came to be so tractable, and had the great power of king Numa in such admiration: that they tooke all to be as true as the gospell that he spake, though it had no more likelyhood of trothe, then tales devised of pleasure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or unpossible to him, if he would have it. And for proofe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he having bidden a great company of the cittizens of Rome to come and suppe with him, caused them to be served with plaine grosse meate, and in very poore and homely vessell. And when they were set, and beganne to fall to their meate, he cast out words sodainely unto them, how the goddesse with whom he accompanied, was come to see him even at that instant, and that sodainely the hall was richely furnished,

By what means Numa made the Romaines quiet and gentle.

The wonders of Numa.

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and the tables covered with all sortes of excellent fine and delicate meates. Howbeit this farre passed all the vanity of lying, which is found written of him, about his speaking with Iupiter. The hill Aventine was not at that time inhabited, nor inclosed within the walles of Rome, but was full of springs and shadowed groves, whether commonly repaired to solace them selves, the two godds, Picus and Faunus, which otherwise might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the Titanians: saving it is sayed, that they went through all Italie, doing the like miracles and wonders in phisycke, charmes and arte magike, which they reporte of those the Grecians call Idæes Dactyles. There they saye that Numa tooke them both, having put into the spring both wine and honnie, where they used to drinke. When they saw that they were taken, they transformed them selves into divers forms, disguising and disfiguring their naturall shape, into many terrible and feareful sights to behold. Nevertheles in the end, perceiving they were so fast, as to escape there was no reckoning: they revealed unto him many things to come, and taught him the purifying against lightning and thunder, which they make yet at this daye with onions, heare, and pilchers. Other saye, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched Iupiter out of heaven, with their conjuring and magicke: whereat Iupiter being offended, aunswered in choller, that he should make it with heads. But Numa added straight, Of onions: Iupiter replied, Of men. Then Numa asked him againe, to take a litle away the cruelty of the commaundement: What heares? Iupiter aunswered, Quicke hears. And Numa put to pilchers also. And it is reported that this was the goddesse Egeria, that taught Numa this subtiltie. This done, Iupiter returned appeased: by reason whereof the place was called Ilicium. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue signifieth appeased, and favorable: and this purifying was afterwards made in that sorte. These tales not onely vayne, but full of mockerie also, doe show us yet plainely the zeale and devotion men had in those times towards the godds: unto which Numa through custome had wonne them. And as for Numa him self, they saye that he so firmely put all his hope and con-

Numaes speaking with Iupiter.

Picus.

Faunus.

The purifying of thunder.

Ilicium, the name of the place.

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fidence in the helpe of the godds: that one daye when he was told his enemies were in armes against him, he did but laugh at it, and aunswered: And I doe sacrifice. It is he (as some saye) that first built a temple to Faith and Terme: and which made the Romaines understand, that the most holy and greatest othe they could make, was to sweare by their faith, which they kepe yet at this daye. But *Terme*, which signifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: unto whom they doe sacrifice, both publickly and privately, upon the limites of inheritaunces, and now they sacrifice unto him live beasts. Howbeit in old time they did sacrifice unto him without any bloude, through the wise institution of Numa: who declared and preached unto them, that this god of bounds was syncere, and upright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a witnes of justice, and a keper of peace. It was he, which in my opinion, did first limit out the bounds of the territorie of Rome: which Romulus would never doe, for feare least in bounding out his owne, he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding and mearing, to him that will keepe it justely: is a bond that brideleth power and desire. But to him that forceth not to kepe it: it is a proofe to shew his injustice. To saye truely, the territories of Rome had no great bounds at the first beginning, and Romulus had got by conquest the greatest parte of it, and Numa did wholy devide it unto the nedie inhabitans to releve them, and to bring them out of poverty: (which carieth men hedlong into mischief, and discourageth them to labour) to the end that plowing up the said lande, they should also plowe up the weedes of their own barrennes, to become civill and gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so sodainely bringeth a man, to love and desire quietnes, as doth husbandrie and tillage: and yet to defend a mans own, there is in it corage and hardines to fight. But greedy desire, violently to take from others, and unjustely to occupie that is none of theirs, is never in right husbandmen. And therfore Numa having brought in husbandrie amongest his subjects, as a medecine and meane to make them love quietnes: was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble and gentle of con-

Numa buylded temples to Faythe and Terme.

Numa made the boundes of the territorie of Rome.

Numa advaunceth tillage.

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dition, then to increase them in riches. He devided all the territorie of Rome into certen parts which he called *Pagos*: as much to saye, as villages. And in every one of them he ordeined controllers and visiters, which should survey all about: and he him self somtimes went abroade in persone, conjecturing by their labour the manners and nature of every man. Such as he found diligent, he advaunced them unto honour, and gave them countenaunce and authoritie: other which he sawe slowthfull and negligent, by rebuking and reproving of them, he made them amend. But amongest all his ordinaunces which he made, one above all the rest caried the praise: and that was, that he devided his people into sundrie occupations. For the cittie of Rome seemed yet to be made of two nations, as we have sayed before: and to speake more properly, it was made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether impossible to take away all factions, and to make there should be no quarrells nor contentions betwene both parts. Wherefore he considered, that when one will mingle two bodies or simples together, which for their hardnes and contrarie natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breaks and beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller and lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Even so he thought it was best to devide the people also into many small partes: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more easely take away the first and the greatest parte, when it should be devided and separated thus into sundrie sorts. And this division he made by arts and occupations: as minstrells, goldsmiths, carpinters, diers, shoemakers, tawers, tanners, bell founders, and pot makers, and so forth through other craftes and occupations. So that he brought every one of these into one bodie, and companie by it self: and ordeined unto every particular mysterie or crafte, their feasts, assemblies, and services, which they should make unto the godds, according to the dignitie and worthines of every occupation. And by this meanes, he first tooke away all faction: that neither side sayed, nor thought any more, those are Sabynes, these are Romaines, these are of Tatius,

Numa devided his people into sundry occupations.

Numa tooke away the factions of Romulus and Tatius.

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these are of Romulus. Insomuch as this division was an incorporating, and an uniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinaunces, they did much commend his reforming of the law, that gave libertie unto fathers to sell their children. For he did except children already maried, so they were maried with their fathers consent and goodwill: judging it to be to cruell and over hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had maried a free man, should finde her self to be the wife of a bond man. He beganne also to mende a litle the calender, not so exactly as he should have done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the raigne of Romulus, they used the moneths confusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them twenty dayes and lesse, and others five and thirtie dayes and more, without knowing the difference betwene the course of the sunne and the moone: and only they observed this rule, that there was three hundred and three score dayes in the yere. But Numa considering the inequality stoode upon eleven dayes, for that the 12 revolutions of the moone are ronne in 300 fiftie and foure dayes, and the revolution of the sunne, in 365 dayes, he doubled the 11 dayes, wherof he made a moneth: which he placed from 2 yeres to 2 yeres, after the moneth of February, and the Romaines called this moneth put betweene, *Mercidinum*, which had 22 dayes. And this is the correction that Numa made, which since hath had a farre better amendment. He did also chaunge the order of the moneths. For Marche which before was the first, he made it now the third: and Ianuary the first, which under Romulus was the 11 and February the 12 and last. Yet many are of opinion, that Numa added these two, Ianuary and February. For the Romaines at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yere. And the Arcadians amongest the Grecians have but foure moneths for their yere. The Acarnanians have sixe to the yere. And the Egyptians had first but one moneth to their yere: and afterwards they made foure moneths for their yere. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabite in a new countrie) to be nevertheles the auncientest people of the world: for

The ordinaunce of the moneths of Numaes institution.

Macrob. 1. *Satyr.* 13.

The yere diversely counted.

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that in their chronicles they reckon up such infinite number of yeres, as those which counte the moneths for the yeres. And to prove this true, that the Romaines at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere, and not twelve: it is easely to be judged by the name of the last, which they call at this daye December. And that the moneth of Marche was also the first, maye be conjectured by this: for the fift moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis*: the 6 *Sextilis*, and so the other in order following the numbers. For if Ianuary and February had then bene the first, of necessitie the moneth of Iuly, which they call *Quintilis*, must have bene named September: considering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which Romulus had dedicated unto Mars, was also by him ordeined to be the first. The second was Aprill: so called of the name Aphrodite, that is to saye Venus, unto whom they make open sacrifice in this moneth. And on the first daye of the same, women doe washe them selves, having a garland of myrtle upon their heades. Howbeit some other saye, that it was not called after the name of Aphrodite, but it was only called *Aprilis*, bicause then is the chiefest force and strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seedes of plants and erbes beginne to bud and showe forth, which the word it selfe doth signifie. The moneth following next after that, is called Maye: after the name of Maia, the mother of Mercurie, unto whom the moneth is consecrated.* The moneth of Iune is so called also, bicause of the quality of that season, which is as the youthe of the yere. Although some will saye, that the moneth of Maye was named of this word *Majores*, which signifieth as much as the elders: and the moneth of Iune, of *Iuniores*, which signifies the younger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. But *Quintilis*, was afterward called *Iulius*, of the name of Iulius Cæsar, who slew Pompeius. And *Sextilis* was named *Augustus*, Octavius Cæsars successour in the empire, who was also surnamed Augustus. It is true also that Domitian would they should call the two moneths following (which

*Peradventure ye must read in the Greke (ἀπὸ τῆς ἥρας) which is to saye, of the name of Iuno.

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are *September* and *October*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that helde not longe: for so soone as Domitian was killed, the moneths recovered their auncient names againe. The two last moneths only, have ever continued their names, without chaunging or altering. But of the two which Numa added, or at the least translated: the moneth of February doth signifie as much as purging, or at the least the derivation of the word sowndeth neere it. In this moneth, they doe sacrifice of plantes,* and doe celebrate the feast of the Lupercales, in which there are many things agreable, and like to the sacrifices made for purification. And the first which is Ianuary, was called after the name of Ianus. Wherefore me thinckes that Numa tooke away the moneth of Marche from the first place, and gave it unto Ianuary: bicause he would have peace preferred before warre, and civill things before marshall. For this Ianus (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very civill and polliticke. For he chaunged the life of men, which before his time was rude, cruell, and wild: and brought it to be honest, gentle, and civill. For this cause they doe painte his image at this daye with two faces, the one before, and the other behinde, for thus chaunging the lives of men. And there is in Rome a temple dedicated unto him, which hath two doores, that be called the doores of warre: for the custome is to open them, when the Romaines have any warres in any place, and to shut them when they be at peace. To have them shut, it was a rare thinge to see, and happened very seldome: by reason of the greatnes of their empire, which of all sides was environned with barbarous nations, whom they were compelled to keepe under with force of armes. Notwithstanding it was once shut up in the time of Augustus, after he had slaine Antonie: and once before also in the yere when Marcus Attilius and Titus Manlius were Consuls. But that continued not long, for it was opened again incontinently, by reason of warres that came upon them sone after. Howbeit during the raigne of Numa, it was never one day opened, but remained shut continually by the space of three and forty yeres together. For all occasions of warres, were

*Some olde Grecian copies saye in this place, φθιτοῖς, as much to saye, as for the deade.

Why Ianus is painted with two faces.

At what time the temple of Ianus is shut in Rome. *Liv.* lib. 1.

The Romains had no warres in al Numaes time.

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then utterly dead and forgotten: bicause at Rome the people were not only through thexample of justice, clemencie, and the goodnes of the King brought to be quiet, and to love peace: but in the citties thereabouts, there beganne a marvelous chaunge of manners and alteration of life, as if some gentle ayer had breathed on them, by some gratious and healthfull wind, blowen from Rome to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens mindes such a harty desire to live in peace, to till the ground, to bring up their children, and to serve the goddes truely: that almost through all Italie, there was nothing but feastes, playes, sacrifices, and bankets. The people did traffike and frequent together, without feare or daunger, and visited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the springing fountaine of Numaes wisedom many pretie brookes and streames of good and honest life had ronne over all Italie, and had watered it: and that the mildnes of his wisdom had from hand to hand been disparsed through the whole world. Insomuch, as the over excessive speaches the Poets accustomably doe use, were not sufficient enough to expresse the peaceable raigne of that time.

> There: spiders weave, their cobwebbes daye and night
> in harnesses, which wont to serve for warre:
> there: cancred rust doth fret, the steele full bright
> of trenchant blades, well whet in many a Iarre.
> There: mighty speares, for lacke of use are eaten,
> with rotten wormes: and in that countrie there,
> the braying trompe dothe never seeme to threaten,
> their quiet eares, with blasts of bloudy feare.
> There: in that lande, no drowsie sleepe is broken,
> with hotte alarmes, which terrours doe betoken.

For during all king Numaes raigne, it was never heard that ever there were any warres, civil dissention, or innovation of government attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmitie or malice borne him, neither any conspiracie once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of displeasing the godds (which visibly seemed to take him into their protection) or for the reverent regarde they had unto his vertue, or for his prosperous and good successe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he sought to

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keepe men still pure, and honest, from all wickednes, and layed most open before the eyes of the whole world, a very example of that which Plato long time after did affirme, and saye, concerning true government: which was, That the only meane of true quietnes, and remedy from all evill (which ever troubleth men) was: when by some divine ordinaunce from above there meteth in one person, the right majestie of a King, and the minde of a wise philosopher, to make vertue governesse and ruler over vice. For in deede happie is such a wise man, and more happy are they, which maye heare the grave counsaill, and good lessons of such a mouthe. And there me thincks needeth no force, no compulsion, no threates, nor extremitie to bridle the people. For men seeing the true image of vertue in their visible prince, and in the example of his life, doe willingly growe to be wise, and of them selves doe fall into love liking, and friendshippe together, and doe use all temperaunce, just dealing, and good order one toward another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe pointe of felicitie, and the most happie good that can light unto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wisdome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners such a good disposition: and this, Numa above all other, seemed best to knowe and understand. Furthermore, touching his wives and children, there are great contrarieties among the historiographers. For some of them saye, he never maried other wife then Tatia, and that he never had any children, but one only daughter, and she was called Pompilia. Other write to the contrarie, that he had foure sonnes, Pompo, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus: of every one of the which (by succession from the father to the sonne) have descended the noblest races, and most auncient houses of the Romaines. As the house of the Pomponians, of Pompo: the house of the Pinarians, of Pinus: the house of the Calphurnians, of Calpus: and the house of the Mamercians, of Mamercus. All which families by reason of their first progenitor have kept the surname of *Reges*, 'Kings.' There are three other writers, which doe reprove the two first: saying that they dyd write

Platoes saying concerning the felicitie of a common weale.

Numaes wives and posteritie.

Pompilia, Numaes daughter.

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NUMA POMPILIUS

to gratifie the families, making them falsely to descend of the noble race of king Numa. Moreover it is sayed, he had his daughter Pompilia, not by Tatia, but by his other wife called Lucretia, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter Pompilia was maried unto one Martius, the sonne of the same Martius, which persuaded him to accept the kingdome of Rome. For he went with him to Rome, to remaine there: where they dyd him the honour to receyve him into the number of the Senatours. After the death of Numa, Martius the father stoode against Tullus Hostilius for the succession of the Realme, and being overcome, he killed him selfe for sorowe. But his sonne Martius, who maried Pompilia, continued still at Rome, where he begotte Ancus Martius, who was king of Rome after Tullus Hostilius, and was but five yere olde when Numa dyed. Whose death was not sodaine. For he dyed consuming by litle and litle, aswell through age, as also through a lingring disease that waited on him to his ende, as Piso hath written: and Numa at his death was litle more, then foure score yere old. But the pompe and honour done unto him at his funeralles, made his life yet more happie and glorious. For all the people his neighbours, friendes, kinsemen, and allies of the Romaines came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publicke contributions to honour his obsequies. The noble men selves of the cittie (which were called Patricians) caried on their shoulders the very bedd, on which the course laye, to be conveyed to his grave. The Priestes attended also on his bodie, and so dyd all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his tumbe, all bewaling and lamenting his death, with teares, sighes, and mournings. Not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their dearest kinseman, and nearest friende that had dyed before he was olde. They burnt not his bodie, bicause (as some saye) he commaunded the contrarie by his will and testament: but they made two coffines of stone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called Ianiculum. In the one they layed his bodie, and in the other the holy bookes which he had written him selfe, much

Pompilia maried to Caius Martius Coriolanus.

Martius the Sabyne, made Senatour at Rome.

Ancus Martius, the sonne of Caius Martius Coriolanus.

The death of Numa.

Numaes bookes.

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like unto those, which they that made the lawes among the Grecians dyd write in tables. But bicause in his life time he had taught the priestes, the substaunce of the whole conteined in the same: he willed the holy tables which he had written, should be buried with his bodie. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners and exercises. And he followed herein they saye, the Pythagorians, who would not put their worckes in writing, but dyd printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of persone the hidden rules and secretes of Geometrie, which had not bene worthy of them: then they sayed the goddes by manifest tokens would threaten, to revenge such sacriledge and impietie, with some great destruction and miserie. Therefore, seeing so many things agreable, and altogether like betweene Numa and Pythagoras, I easely pardon those which mainteine their opinion, that Numa and Pythagoras were familiarly acquainted, and conversant together. Valerius Antias the historian writeth, there were twelve bookes written concerning the office of Priestes, and twelve other conteining the philosophie of the Grecians. And that foure hundred yeres after (in the same yere when Publius Cornelius, and Marcus Bebius were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earthe, and discovered these coffines: and the liddes and covers thereof being caried awaye, they founde the one altogether voyde, having no manner of likelyhoode, or token of a bodie that had layen in it: and in the other they founde these bookes, which were delivered unto one named Petilius (at that time Prætor) who had the charge to reade them over, and to make the reporte of them. But he having perused them over, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not convenient the matters conteined in them should be published unto the simple people: and for that cause they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnte. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth unto all good and just men, that they are farre more praysed and esteemed after their death,

NUMA POMPILIUS

Why the Pythagorians left nothing in writing.

12 bookes of priesthood.

12 bookes of philosophie.

Good men praysed after their death.

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NUMA POMPILIUS

The misfortunes of Numaes successours. Hostilius.

then before: bicause that envie doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding, the misfortunes which chaunced afterwardes unto the five Kings which raigned at Rome after Numa, have made his honour shine, with much more noble glorie then before. For the last of them was driven out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very olde. And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treason. And Tullus Hostilius which raigned after Numa, deriding, and contemning the most parte of his good and holy institutions, and chiefly his devotion towardes the goddes, as a thing which made men lowly and fainte harted: dyd assone as ever he came to be King, turne all his subjects hartes to the warres. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a straunge, and most grievous disease that followed him, which brought him to chaunge his minde, and dyd farre otherwise turne his contempt of Religion, into an overfearfull superstition, which dyd nothing yet resemble the true Religion and devotion of Numa: and besides, he infected others with his contagious errour, through the inconvenience which happened unto him at his death. For he was stricken and burnt with lightning.

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GRECIANS AND ROMANES

THE COMPARISON OF LYCURGUS WITH NUMA

HUS having written the lives of Lycurgus and Numa, the matter requireth, though it be somewhat harde to doe, that we comparing the one with the other, should set out the difference betweene them. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deedes doe shewe it sufficiently. As in their temperaunce, their devotion to the goddes, their wisdome in governing, and their discreete handling of their people, by making them beleeve that the goddes had revealed the lawes unto them, which they established. And nowe to come unto their qualities, which are diversely, and severally commended in either of them. Their first qualitie is, that Numa accepted the Kingdome, and Lycurgus gave it up. The one receyved it, not seeking for it: and the other having it in his handes, did restore it againe. The one being a straunger, and a private man: was by straungers elected and chosen, their lorde and King. The other being in possession a King, made him selfe againe a private persone. Suer it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by justice: but it is a goodlier thing to esteeme justice above a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputation, that he was judged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred so noble a minde in the other, that he esteemed not to be a King. Their second qualitie is, that like as in an instrument of musicke, the one of them did tune and wrest up the slacke stringes which were in Sparta: so the other slackened, and set them lower, which were to highe mounted in Rome. Wherein Lycurgus difficulty was the greater. For he did not persuade his cittizens, to plucke of their armour and curates, nor to laye by their swordes: but only to leave their golde and silver, to forsake their softe beddes, their

The vertues of Numa and Lycurgus were alike, but their deeds divers.

What things were harde to Lycurgus.

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fine wrought tables, and other curious riche furniture, and not to leave of the travell of warres, to geve them selves only unto feastes, sacrifices, and playes. But to the contrarie, to geve up bancketing and feasting, and continually to take paynes in the warres, yelding their bodies to all kinde of paynes. By which meanes, the one for the love and reverence they did beare him, easely persuaded all that he would: and the other, by putting him selfe in daunger, and being hurte also, obtained not without great travell and adventure, the end of his intended purpose and desire. Numa his muse was so gentle, loving, and curteous, that the manners of his cittizens, which before were furious and violent, were now so tractable and civill, that he taught them to love peace and justice. And to the contrarie, if they will compell me to number amongest the lawes and ordinaunces of Lycurgus, that which we have written touching the Ilotes, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I must of force confesse that Numa was muche wiser, more gentle, and civill in his lawes, considering that even unto those which in deede were borne slaves, he gave some litle tast of honour, and sweetnes of libertie, having ordained, that in the feastes of Saturne, they should sit downe at meate, at their masters owne table. Some holde opinion, that this custome was brought in by king Numa: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, should have some pleasure thereof to make good cheere with the first fruites of the same. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembraunce of the equalitie, which was emongest men in the world in Saturnes time, when there was neither master nor servaunte, but all men were alike equall, as brethern or kinsemen. To conclude, it seemeth either of them tooke a direct course, thought best to them selves, to frame their people unto temperaunce, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loved warre best, and the other justice: onles it were that men would saye, that for the diversitie of the nature or custome of their people (which were almost contrarie in manners) they were both compelled to use also contrary and divers meanes from other.

Slaves sat with their masters at Saturnes feasts. Macrob. *Satur.* lib. 1.

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For it was not of a fainte harte, that Numa tooke from his people the use of armes, and desire to be in warres: but it was to the ende they should not doe any wrong to others. Neither did Lycurgus also studie to make his people souldiers and warlike, to hurte others: but for feare rather that others should hurte them. And so, to cut of the excesse in the one, and to supply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a straunge manner of government. Furthermore, touching their severall kinde of government, and dividing of their people into states and companies: that of Numa was marvelous meane and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a bodie of a cittie, and a people compounded together of all sortes, as goldesmithes, minstrells, founders, shoemakers, and of all sortes of craftes men and occupations together. But that of Lycurgus, was directly contrarie: for his was more severe and tyrannicall, in governing of the nobility, casting all craftes and base occupations upon bondemen and straungers, and putting into the handes of his cittizens the shield and launce, suffering them to exercise no other arte or science, but the arte and discipline of warres, as the true ministers of Mars: which all their life time never knewe other science, but only learned to obey their captaines, and to commaund their enemies. For to have any occupation, to buye and sell, or to trafficke, free men were expressely forbidden: bicause they should wholy and absolutely be free. And all sciences to get money was lawfull for slaves, and the Ilotes: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dresse meate, and to be a scullian of a kitchin. Numa put not this difference amongest his people, but only tooke away covetous desire to be riche by warres: but otherwise, he did not forbid them to get goodes by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regarde to bring all to equalitie, and to be a like wealthy, but suffered every man to get what he could, taking no order to prevent povertie, which crept in, and spred farre in his cittie. Which he should have looked unto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an unequalitie amongest them, and that his cittizens for substaunce were in manner equall one with

Divers causes of the diversitie of institutions of Numa and Lycurgus.

Description of their people.

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another: for then was the time when he should have made head against avarice, to have stopped the mischieves and inconveniences, which fell out afterwards, and they were not litle. For that only was the fountaine and roote, of the most parte of the greatest evills and mischieves, which happened afterwardes in Rome. And as touching the division of goodes: neither ought Lycurgus to be blamed for doing it, nor Numa for that he did it not. For this equality unto the one, was a ground and foundation of his common wealth, which he afterwards instituted: and unto other, it could not be. For this division being made not long before the time of his predecessour, there was no great neede to chaunge the first, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching mariages, and their children to be in common, both the one and the other wisely sought to take awaye all occasion of jealousie: but yet they tooke not both one course. For the Romaine husband, having children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came unto him, to praye him to lende him his wife, he might graunte her unto him, and it was in him to geve her altogether, or to lende her for a time, and to take her afterwardes againe. But the Laconian, keeping his wife in his house, and the mariage remaining whole and unbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to have children by her: naye furthermore, many (as we have told you before) did them selves intreat men, by whom they thought to have a trimme broode of children, and layed them with their wives. What difference, I praye you was betwene these two customes? saving that the custome of the Laconians shewed, that the husbands were nothing angrie, nor grieved with their wives for those things, which for sorrowe and jealousie doth rent the hartes of most maried men in the world. And that of the Romaines was a simplicitie somwhat more shamefast, which to cover it, was shadowed yet with the cloke of matrimonie, and contract of mariage: confessing that to use wife and children by halfes together, was a thing most intollerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidens to be maried by Numaes order, was much straighter and more honorable for womanhed: and

Reason for mariages.

Numaes order for maydens the better.

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Lycurgus order having to much scope and libertie, gave Poets occasion to speake, and to geve them surnames not very honest. As Ibycus called them *Phænomeridas*: to saye, thighe showers: and *Andromanes*: to saye manhood. And Euripides sayeth also of them,

Good nut browne girles which left, their fathers house at large,
and sought for young mens companie, and tooke their ware in charge:
And shewed their thighes all bare, the taylour did them wrong,
on eche side open were their cotes, the slytts were all to long.

And in deede to saye truely, the sides of their petticotes were not sowed beneath: so that as they went, they shewed their thighes naked and bare. The which Sophocles doth easely declare by these verses:

The songe which you shall singe, shalbe the sonnet sayde,
by Hermionè lusty lasse, that strong and sturdy mayde:
Which trust her petticote, about her midle shorte,
and set to shewe her naked hippes, in francke and frendly sorte.

The Laconians were to manly.

And therefore it is sayed, the Lacon wives were bolde, manly, and stowte against their husbands, namely the first. For they were wholy mistresses in the house, and abroade: yea they had law on their side also, to utter their mindes franckly concerning the chiefest matters. But Numa ever reserved the honour and dignitie unto the women, which was left them by Romulus in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them awaye perforce, disposed them selves to use them as gently as possibly they could: nevertheles, he added otherwise thereto, great honesty, and tooke awaye all curiositie from them, and taught them sobrietie, and did inure them to speake litle. For he did utterly forbid them wine, and did prohibite them to speake, although it were for things necessarie, onles it were in the presence of their husbands. In so much as it is reported, that a woman chauncing one daye to pleade her cause in persone, openly before the judges: the Senate hearing of it, did send immediately unto the oracle of Apollo, to know what that did prognosticate to the cittie. And therfore Numa thought

The Romaine women very modest.

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the memorie of the naughty women, would much commend the great humilitie, gentlenes, and obedience of the good. For like as our Grecian historiographers doe note those which were the first that killed any of their cittizens, or have fought with their brethern, or have killed their fathers or mothers: even so the Romaines doe note that Spurius Carvilius was the first which forsooke his wife, two hundred and thirtie yeres after the first foundation of Rome, which was never done by any before. And that the wife of one Pinarius, called Thalæa, was the first which ever brawled or quarrelled with her mother in lawe called Gegania, in the time when Tarquine surnamed the prowde raigned: so well and honestly were the orders of Numa devised concerning mariage. Moreover, the age and time of marying of maydes, which both the one and the other ordeined: doth agree with the rest of their education. For Lycurgus would not that they should be maried, till they were of good yeres, and women growen: to the ende that they knowing the company of man at such time as nature requireth, it should be a beginning of their pleasure and love, and not of griefe and hate, when she should be compelled unto it before time agreable by nature, and bicause their bodies also should be more stronge and able to beare children, and to indure the mothers painefull throwes and travell in childe bearing, considering they are maried to no other ende, but to beare children. But the Romaines to the contrarie, doe marye them at twelve yeres of age, and under: saying, that by this meanes their bodies and manners be wholy theirs, which doe marye them, being assured that no body els could touch them. By this reason it is manifest, that the one is more naturall, to make them strong to beare children: and the other more morall, to geve them the forme and manner of conditions, which a man would have them to kepe all their life time. Moreover touching orders for education of children, that they should be brought up, instructed, and taught, under the selfe same masters and governours, which should have an eye to make them drincke, eate, playe, and exercise them selves honestly, and orderly together: Numa made no more provision for the same, then the least maker of lawes that ever was, and nothing in com-

The first divorce at Rome.

Howe much education and discipline is worthe.

Arist. *polit.* 8.

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parison of Lycurgus. For Numa left the parents at libertie, to use their discretion (according unto their covetousnes or necessitie) to cause their children to be brought up as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpinters, founders, or minstrells. As if they should not frame the manners of children, and facion them from their cradell all to one ende: but should be as it were like passengers in one shippe, which being there, some for one busines, other for another purpose, but all to divers endes, doe never medle one with another, but in a rough storme or tempest, when every man is affrayed of his owne life. For otherwise, no man careth but for him selfe. And other makers of lawes also, are to be borne withall, if any thing hath scaped them through ignoraunce, or some time through lacke of sufficient power and authoritie. But a wise philosopher, having receyved a realme of people newly gathered together, which dyd contrary him in nothing: whereto should he most plye his studie and indevour, but to cause children to be well brought up, and to make young men exercise them selves, to the ende they should not differ in manners, nor that they should be troublesome, by their divers manner of bringing up, but that they should all agree together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood unto one selfe trade, and facioned under one selfe patterne of vertue? That good education, besides other commodities, dyd also serve to preserve Lycurgus lawes. For the feare of their othe which they had made, had bene of small effect, if he had not through institution, and education (as it were) dyed in wolle the manners of children, and had not made them from their nources brestes in manner, sucke the Iuice and love of his lawes, and civill ordinaunces. And this was of suche force, that for the space of five hundred yeres and more, Lycurgus chief lawes and ordinaunces remained in full perfection, as a deepe woded dye, which went to the bottome, and pearced into the tender wolle. Contrariwise, that which was Numaes chief ende and purpose, to continew Rome in peace and amitie, dyed by and by with him. For he was no soner dead, but they opened both the gates of the temple of Ianus, which he so carefully had kept shut all his reigne, as if in

How Lycurgus lawes were stablished.

Why Numaes orders dyed.

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deede he had kept in warres there, under locke and keye, and they filled all Italie with murder and bloude: and this his godly, holy, and just government which his Realme enjoyed all his time, did not last long after, bicause it had not the bonde of education, and the discipline of children which should mainteine it. Why, maye a man saye to me here: Hath not Rome excelled still, and prevailed more and more in chevalrie? This question requireth a long aunswer, and specially unto such men, as place felicitie in riches, in possessions, and in the greatness of empire, rather then in the quiet safety, peace, and concorde of a common weale: and in clemency and justice, joyned with contentation. Nevertheles, howsoever it was, that maketh for Lycurgus also, that the Romaines, after they had chaunged the state which they had of Numa, dyd so marvelously increase and growe mightie: and that the Lacedæmonians to the contrarie, so soone as they beganne to breake Lycurgus lawes, being of great authoritie and swaye, fell afterwards to be of small accompt. So that having lost the soveraintie and commaundement over Grece, they stoode in great hazarde also to be overthrowen for ever. But in trothe it was some divine thing in Numa, that he being a meere straunger, the Romaines dyd seeke him, to make him King, and that he could so chaunge all, and rule a whole cittie as he listed (not yet joyned together) without neede of any force or violence: as it was in Lycurgus, to be assisted with the best of the citty, in resisting the commons of Lacedæmon, but he could never otherwise have kept them in peace, and made them love together, but by his only wisdom and justice.

Why Numa is to be preferred before Lycurgus.

THE ENDE OF NUMA POMPILIUS LIFE

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GRECIANS AND ROMANES

THE LIFE OF SOLON

IDYMUS the Grammarian, in a litle booke that he wrote and dedicated unto Asclepiades, touching the tables of the lawes of Solon, alleageth the wordes of one Philocles, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that have written, that Solons father was called Euphorion. For all other writers agree, that he was the sonne of Execestides, a man but reasonably to live, although otherwise he was of the noblest and most auncient house of the cittie of Athens. For of his fathers side, he was descended of king Codrus: and for his mother, Heraclides Ponticus writeth, she was cosin germaine unto Pisistratus mother. For this cause even from the beginning there was great friendshippe betwene them, partely for their kinred, and partely also for the curtesie, and beawtie of Pisistratus, with whom it is reported Solon on a time was in love. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at jarre one with the other, about matter of state and government: yet this square bred no violent inconvenience betwene them, but they reserved in their hartes still their auncient amitie, which continued the memorie of their love, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That Solon was no stayed man to withstand beawtie, nor any great doer to prevaile in love, it is manifest to all, aswell by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by a lawe of his owne: wherein he dyd forbid bondmen to perfume them selves, or to be lovers of children. Who placed this lawe among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better sorte, and forbidding it to the basest. They saye also that Pisistratus selfe was in love with Charmus, and that he dyd set up the litle image of love, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candell. But Solons father (as Hermippus writeth) having spent his goodes in liberalitie, and deedes of curtesie, though he might easely have bene relieved at divers mens

Solons linage.

Great friendshipp betwixt Solon and Pisistratus.

A statute for bondmen.

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handes with money, he was yet ashamed to take any, bicause he came of a house which was wont rather to geve and relieve others, then to take them selves: so being yet a young man, he devised to trade marchaundise. Howbeit other saye, that Solon travelled countries, rather to see the worlde, and to learne: then to trafficke, or gayne. For sure he was very desirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifestly: for that being nowe olde, he commonly used to saye this verse:

Solon gave him selfe in youth to trade marchaundise.

I growe olde, learning still.

Also he was not covetously bent, nor loved riches to much: for he sayd in one place:

Who so hath goodes, and golde enough at call,
great heards of beastes, and flocks in many a folde,
both horse and mule, yea store of corne and all,
that maye content eche man above the mowlde:
no richer is, for all those heapes and hoordes,
then he which hathe, sufficiently to feede,
and clothe his corpes, with such as god afoordes.
But if is joye, and chief delight doe breede,
for to beholde the fayer and heavenly face,
of some swete wife, which is adornde with grace:
or els some childe, of beawty fayre and bright,
then hath he cause (in deede) of deepe delight.

Solons judgmentofriches.

And in another place also he sayeth:

In deede I doe desire, some wealthe to have at will:
but not unles the same be got, by faithfull dealing still.
For suer who so desires by wickednes to thrive:
shall finde that justice from such goodes, will justly him deprive.

There is no law forbiddeth an honest man, or gentleman, greedily to scrape goods together, and more then may suffice: and likewise to get sufficient to mainteine one withall, and to defraye all needefull charges. In those dayes no state was discommended, as sayeth Hesiodus, nor any arte or science made any difference betwene men: but marchaundise they thought an honorable state, as that which delivered meanes, to traffike into straunge and farre countries, to get acquaintaunce with states, to procure the love of princes, and chiefly to gather the experience of the world. So that there have bene

The commodities of marchaundise.

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marchaunts, which heretofore have bene founders of great cities: as he which first buylt Massilia, after he had obteined the friendshippe of the Gaules, dwelling by the river of Rhosne. And they say also, that Thales Milesius the wise, did traffike marchaundise, and that Hippocrates the mathematike did even so: and likewise that Plato travelling into Egipt, did beare the whole charges of his jorney, with the gaines he made of the sale of oile he caried thither. They remember also, that Solon learned to be lavish in expence, to fare delicately, and to speake wantonly of pleasures in his Poemes, somwhat more licentiously then became the gravity of a Philosopher: only bicause he was brought up in the trade of marchaundise, wherein for that men are marvelous subject to great losses and daungers, they seeke otherwiles good chere to drive these cares awaye, and libertie to make much of them selves. Yet it appeareth by these verses, that Solon accompted him selfe rather in the number of the poore, than of the riche.

A marchaunt builded Massilia.

Thales. Hippocrates. Plato. all marchaunts.

Riche men (oftimes) in lewdest lives doe range,
and often seene, that vertuous men be poore:
Yet would the good, their goodnes never chaunge
with lewd estate, although their wealthe be more.
For vertue stands allwayes, both firme and stable:
When riches rove, and seldome are durable.

Poverty with vertue better than riches.

This Poetry at the beginning he used but for pleasure, and when he had leysure, writing no matter of importaunce in his verses. Afterwards he dyd set out many grave matters of philosophie, and the most parte of such things as he had devised before, in the government of a common weale, which he dyd not for historie or memories sake, but only of a pleasure to discourse: for he sheweth the reasons of that he dyd, and in some places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproveth the Athenians. And some affirme also he went about to write his lawes and ordinaunces in verse, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

How Solon used his poetrie.

Vouchesave O mighty Iove, of heaven and earth highe King:
to graunt good fortune to my lawes, and heasts in everie thing.
And that their glorie growe, in such triumphaunt wise,
as maye remaine in fame for aye, which lives and never dies.

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SOLON

Solon delited in morall, but not in naturall philosophie.

He chiefly delited in morall philosophie, which treated of government and common weales: as the most parte of the wise men dyd of those times. But for naturall philosophie, he was very grosse and simple, as appeareth by these verses.

The clattering hayle, and softly falling snowe
doe breede in ayer, and fall from cloudes on hye.
The dreadfull clappes, which thunderbolts doe throwe,
doe come from heaven, and lightninges bright in skye.
The sea it selfe by boysterous blastes dothe rore
which (were it not provoked so full sore)
Would be both calme and quiet for to passe,
as any element that ever was.

So in effect there was none but Thales alone of all the seven wise men of Grece, who searched further the contemplation of things in common use among men, than he. For setting him a parte, all the others got the name of wisdome, only for their understanding in matters of state and government. It is reported that they met on a daye all seven together in the cittie of Delphes, and another time in the cittie of Corinthe, where Periander got them together at a feast that he made to the other sixe. But that which most increased their glorie, and made their fame most spoken of, was the sending backe againe of the three footed stoole when they all had refused it, and turned it over one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, howe certaine fisher men of the Ile of Co, cast their nettes into the sea, and certaine straungers passing by, that came from the cittie of Miletum, did buye their draught of fishe at adventure, before the net was drawen. And when they drue it up, there came up in the net a three footed stoole of massy gold, which men saye, Hellen (as she dyd returne from Troye) had throwen in in that place, in memory of an auncient oracle she called then unto her minde. Thereupon the straungers and fisher men first fell at strife about this three footed stoole, who should have it: but afterwardes the two citties tooke parte of both sides, on their cittizens behalfe. In so much as warres had like to have followed betwene them, had not the prophetesse Pythia geven a like oracle unto them both. That they should geve this three footed stoole unto the wisest man. Where-

Hellens three footed stoole of gold drawen up in a drag net.

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upon the men of Co, sent it first to Thales in the cittie of Miletum, as being willing to graunte that unto a private persone, for which they had made warres with all the Milesians before. Thales sayed, he thought Bias a wiser man than him selfe: and so it was sent unto him. He likewise sent it againe unto another, as to a wiser man. And that other, sent it also unto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through divers handes, in the ende it was brought backe againe unto the cittie of Miletum, and delivered into the handes of Thales the seconde time: and last of all was caried unto Thebes, and offered up unto the temple of Apollo Ismenian. Howbeit Theophrastus writeth, that first it was sent to the cittie of Priena, unto Bias: and then unto Thales, in the cittie of Miletum, by Bias consent. And after that it had passed through all their handes, it was brought againe unto Bias: and lastely it was sent to the cittie of Delphes. And thus much have the best and most auncient writers written: saving that some saye in steade of a three footed stoole, it was a cuppe that king Crœsus sent unto the cittie of Delphes. Other saye, it was a pece of plate which Bathycles left there. They make mention also of another private meeting betwext Anacharsis and Solon, and of another betweene him and Thales, where they recite, that they had this talke. Anacharsis being arrived at Athens, went to knocke at Solons gate, saying that he was a straunger which came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquaintaunce and friendshippe. Solon aunswered him, that it was better to seeke friendshippe in his owne countrie. Anacharsis replied againe: Thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to shew me friendshippe. Then Solon wondering at his bolde ready wit, enterteined him very curteously: and kept him a certaine time in his house, and made him very good cheere, at the selfe same time wherein he was most busie in governing the common weale, and making lawes for the state thereof. Which when Anacharsis understoode, he laughed at it, to see that Solon imagined with written lawes, to bridell mens covetousnes and injustice. For such lawes, sayed he, doe rightly resemble the spyders cobwebbes: bicause they take

The rare modesty of the wise men.

Anacharsis and Solons meeting.

Anacharsis saying of Solons written lawes.

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SOLON

holde of litle flies and gnattes which fall into them, but the riche and mightie will breake and ronne through them at their will. Solon answered him, that men doe justly keepe all covenants and bargaines which one make with another, bicause it is to the hinderance of either partie to breake them: and even so, he dyd so temper his lawes, that he made his cittizens knowe, it was more for their profit to obey lawe and justice, then to breake it. Nevertheles afterwardes, matters proved rather according to Anacharsis comparison, then agreable to the hope that Solon had conceyved. Anacharsis being by happe one daye in a common assembly of the people at Athens, sayed that he marvelled much, why in the consultations and meetings of the Grecians, wise men propounded matters, and fooles dyd decide them. It is sayed moreover, that Solon was somtime in the cittie of Miletum at Thales house, where he sayed that he could not but marvell at Thales, that he would never marie to have children. Thales gave him never a worde at that present: but within fewe dayes after he suborned a straunger, which sayed that he came but newly home from Athens, departing from thence but tenne dayes before. Solon asked him immediately, What newes there? This straunger whom Thales had schooled before, aunswered: None other there, saving that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the cittie followed, for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the cittie, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they sayed) abroade. O poore unfortunate father, then sayed Solon: and what was his name? I have heard him named, sayed the straunger, but I have forgotten him nowe: saving that they all sayed, he was a worthy wise man. So Solon still trembling more and more for feare, at every aunswer of this straunger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name him selfe unto the straunger, and asked him againe, if he were not the sonne of Solon which was buried. The very same, sayed the straunger. Solon with that, like a mad man straight beganne to beat his head, and to saye, and doe, like men impacient in affliction, and overcome with sorowe. But Thales laugh-

Solons talke with Thales at Miletum, about mariage, for having of children.

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ing to see this pageant, stayed him, and sayed: Loe, Solon, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of such a violence, that thou seest it hath nowe overcome thee, although otherwise thou arte stronge, and able to wrestle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath saied unto thee, be of good cheere man, for it is but a tale, and nothing so. Hermippus writeth, that Patæcus (he which sayed he had Esops sowle) reciteth this story thus. Nevertheles it lacketh judgement, and the corage of a man also, to be afrayed to get things necessarie, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckoning, he should neither esteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lose them. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can have, decayeth oftimes through sicknes, or els by phisicke, and potions. Furthermore Thales selfe, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confesse that he neither loved friends, kynsemen, nor countrie: howbeit Thales had an adopted sonne, called Cybistus, which was his sisters sonne. For our soule having in it a naturall inclination to love, and being borne aswell to love, as to feele, to reason, or understand, and to remember: having nothing of her owne whereupon she might bestowe that naturall love, boroweth of other. As where there is a house or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times straungers, and base borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they have once wonne and possessed his love, they make him ever after to be kynde and tender over them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that move them to marie, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwardes are ready to dye for feare and sorowe, when they see their bastardes (that they have gotten of their slaves or concubines) fall sicke or dye, and doe utter wordes farre unmeete for men of noble corage. And some such there be, that for the death of a dogge, or their horse, are so out of harte, and take such thought, that they are ready to goe into the grounde, they looke so pittiefully. Other some are cleane contrarie, who though they have lost their children, forgone

We should not let to get things necessarie, fearing to lose them.

Cybistus Thales adopted sonne.

The instinct of naturall love.

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SOLON

their friendes, or some gentleman deare unto them, yet no sorowfull worde hath commen from them, neither have they done any unseemely thing: but have passed the rest of their life like wise, constant, and vertuous men. For it is not love but weaknes, which breedeth these extreme sorowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they love and desire, by reason of the continuall trouble, feare and griefe they feele, by thincking howe in time they maye be deprived of it. Nowe we must not arme ourselves with povertie, against the griefe of losse of goodes: neither with lacke of affection, against the losse of our friendes: neither with wante of mariage, against the death of children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus have we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The Athenians having nowe susteined a long and troublesome warre against the Megarians, for the possession of the Ile of Salamina: were in the ende wearie of it, and made proclamation straightly commaunding upon payne of death, that no man should presume to preferre any more to the counsaill of the cittie, the title or question of the possession of the Ile of Salamina. Solon could not beare this open shame, and seeing the most parte of the lustiest youthes desirous still of warre though their tongues were tyed for feare of the proclamation: he fayned him selfe to be out of his wittes, and caused it to be geven out that Solon was become a foole, and secretly he had made certaine lamentable verses, which he had cunned without booke, to singe abroade the cittie. So one daye he ranne sodainly out of his house with a garland on his head, and gotte him to the market place, where the people straight swarmed like bees about him: and getting him up upon the stone where all proclamations are usually made, out he singeth these Elegies he had made, which beganne after this sorte.

Proclamation upon paine of death no man to move the counsell for the title of Salamina.

Solon fained madnes to recover Salamina.

Solons Elegies of the Salaminians.

I here present my selfe (an Heraulde) in this case,
which come from Salamina lande, that noble worthy place.
My minde in pelting prose, shall never be exprest,
But songe in verse Heroycall, for so I thincke it best.

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This Elegie is intituled 'Salamina,' and conteineth a hundred verses, which are excellently well written. And these being songe openly by Solon at that time, his friendes incontinently praysed them beyond measure, and specially Pisistratus: and they went about persuading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongest them, that by and by the proclamation was revoked, and they beganne to followe the warres with greater furie then before, appointing Solon to be generall in the same. But the common tale and reporte is, that he went by sea with Pisistratus unto the temple of Venus, surnamed Coliade: where he founde all the women at a solemne feast and sacrifice, which they made of custome to the goddesse. He taking occasion thereby, sent from thence a trusty man of his owne unto the Megarians, which then had Salamina: whom he instructed to fayne him selfe a revolted traytour, and that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but goe with him, they might take all the chief ladyes and gentlewomen of Athens on a sodaine. The Megarians easely beleeved him, and shipped forthwith certaine souldiers to goe with him. But when Solon perceyved the shippe under sayle comming from Salamina, he commaunded the women to departe, and in steade of them he put lusty beardles springalles into their apparell, and gave them litle shorte daggers to convey under their clothes, commaunding them to playe and daunce together upon the sea side, untill their enemies were landed, and their shippe at anker: and so it came to passe. For the Megarians being deceyved by that they sawe a farre of, as soone as ever they came to the shore side, dyd lande in heapes, one in anothers necke, even for greedines to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slayne every mothers sonne. This stratageame being finely handled, and to good effect, the Athenians tooke sea straight, and costed over to the Ile of Salamina: which they tooke upon the sodaine, and wanne it without much resistaunce. Other saye that it was not taken after this sorte: but that Apollo Delphicus gave Solon first such an oracle.

Of the temple of Venus Coliade. *Strab.* lib. 4, and Pausan. of the Athenians.

Solons stratageame.

Solon wanne Salamina.

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SOLON

Thou shalt first winne by vowes and sacrifice,
the helpe of lordes and demy goddes full bright:
Of whose dead bones, the dust engraved lies,
in westerne soyle, Asopia that hight.

By order of this oracle, he one night passed over to Salamina, and dyd sacrifice to Periphemus, and to Cichris, demy goddes of the countrie. Which done, the Athenians delivered him five hundred men, who willingly offered them selves: and the cittie made an accorde with them, that if they tooke the Ile of Salamina, they should beare greatest authoritie in the common weale. Solon imbarked his souldiers into divers fisher botes, and appointed a galliot of thirtie owers to come after him, and he ankred hard by the cittie of Salamina, under the pointe which looketh towards the Ile of Negrepont. The Megarians which were within Salamina, having by chaunce heard some inckling of it, but yet knew nothing of certaintie: ranne presently in hurly burley to arme them, and manned out a shippe to descrie what it was. But they fondly comming within daunger, were taken by Solon, who clapped the Megarians under hatches fast bounde, and in their roomes put aborde in their shippe the choycest souldiers he had of the Athenians, commaunding them to set their course direct upon the cittie, and to keepe them selves as close out of sight as could be. And he him self with all the rest of his souldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the Megarians, which were come out into the fielde. Now whilest they were fighting together, Solons men whom he had sent in the Megarians shippe, entred the haven, and wanne the towne. This is certainly true, and testified by that which is shewed yet at this daye. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a shippe of Athens arriveth quietly at the first, and by and by those that are in the shippe make a great showte, and a man armed leaping out of the shippe, ronneth showting towardes the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme lande: and harde by the same is the temple of Mars, which Solon built there after he had overcome the Megarians in battell, from whence he sent backe againe those prisoners that he had taken (which were saved

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from the slaughter of the battell) without any ransome paying. Nevertheles, the Megarians were sharpely bent still, to recover Salamina again. Much hurte being done and suffered on both sides: both parts in the ende made the Lacedæmonians judges of the quarrell. But upon judgement geven, common reporte is, that Homers authoritie dyd Solon good service, bicause he did adde these verses to the number of shippes, which are in the Iliades of Homer, which he rehearsed before the judges, as if they had bene in deede written by Homer.

Great strife betwixt the Megarians and Athenians for Salamina.

Iliad. lib. 2.

Ajax that champion stowte, did leade with him in charge,
twelve shippes from Salamina soyle, which he had left at large,
and even those selfe same shippes, in battell did he cast
and place in order for to fight, with enmies force at last.
In that same very place, whereas it seemed then
the captaines which from Athens came, imbattelled had their men.

Howbeit the Athenians selves thinke, it was but a tale of pleasure: and saye that Solon made it appeare to the judges, that Philæus, and Eurysaces (both Ajax sonnes) were made free denizens of Athens. Whereupon they gave the Ile of Salamina unto the Athenians, and one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of Attica: and the other in a towne called Melitum. And for due proofe thereof, they saye there is yet a certen canton or quarter of the countrie of Attica, which is called the canton of the Philæides, after the name of this Philæus, where Pisistratus was borne. And it is sayed moreover, that Solon (bicause he would throughly convince the Megarians) did alleage that the Salaminians buried not the dead after the Megarians manner, but after the Athenians manner. For in Megara they burie the dead with their faces to the East: and in Athens their faces are towards the West. Yet Hereas the Megarian denieth it, saying that the Megarians dyd burie them also with their faces towards the West: alleaging moreover, that at Athens everie corse had his owne beere or coffin by it selfe, and that at Megara they dyd put three or foure corses together. They saye also there were certaine oracles of Apollo Pythias, which dyd greatly helpe Solon, by which the god called Salamina,

The manner of burial with the Megarians and the Athenians.

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Ionia. Their strife was judged by five Arbitrators, all Spartans borne: that is to saye, Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes. Solon undoutedly wonne great glory and honour by this exployte, yet was he much more honoured and esteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the temple of Apollo, in the cittie of Delphes: declaring that it was not meete to be suffered, that the Cyrrhæians should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuarie of the oracle, and that they should ayde the Delphians in honour and reverence of Apollo. Whereupon the counsell of the Amphictyons, being moved with his words and persuasions, proclaimed warres against the Cyrrhæians: as divers other doe witnesse, and specially Aristotle, in the storie he wrote of those that wanne the Pythian games, where he ascribeth unto Solon the honour of that determination. Nevertheles Hermippus sayeth, Solon was not made generall of their armie, as Evanthes Samian hath written. For Æschines the Orator wrote no such thing of him: and in the chronicles of the Delphians they finde, that one Alcmæon, and not Solon, was the generall of the Athenians. Now the cittie of Athens had a long time bene vexed and troubled through Cylons heynous offence, ever sence the yere that Megacles (governour of the cittie of Athens) dyd with fayer words handle so the confederates of the rebellion of Cylon, which had taken sanctuarie within the liberties of the temple of Minerva: that he persuaded them to be wise, and to present them selves before the judges, holding by a threede, which they should tye about the base of the image of the goddesse where she stoode, bicause they should not lose their libertie. But when they were come to the place of the honorable goddesses so called (which be the images of the furies) comming downe to present them selves before the judges, the threede brake of it self. Then Megacles, and other officers his companions, layed holde on them presently, saying that it was a manifest signe that the goddesse Minerva refused to save them. So those they tooke, and all they could laye hands of, were immediately stoned to death without the cittie: the rest which tooke the altars for refuge, were slaine there also. And none were saved, but such as had

Solon defendeth the cause of the temple of Delphes.

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made meanes to the governours wives of the citie, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were ever hated of the people, and commonly called the abjects and excommunicates. Who being the issues of the rebelles that rose with Cylon, chaunced to rise again in credit, and growing to great authoritie, they never left quarrelling and fighting continually with th' ofspring of Megacles. These factions were greatest and highest in Solons time: who being of authoritie, and seeing the people thus divided in two partes, he stepped in betweene them, with the chiefest men of Athens, and did so persuade and intreate those whom they called the abjects and excommunicates, that they were contented to be judged. So three hundred of the chiefest cittizens were chosen judges to heare this matter. The accuser was Myron Phlyeian. This matter was heard and pleaded, and by sentence of the judges, the excommunicates were condemned. Those that were alive, to perpetuall exile: and the bones of them that were dead, to be digged up, and throwen out of the confines of the territorie of Athens. But whilest the cittie of Athens was occupied with these uprores, the Megarians wisely caught holde of the occasion delivered, and set upon the Athenians, tooke from them the haven of Nysæa, and recovered againe out of their handes, the Ile of Salamina. Furthermore, all the cittie was possessed with a certen superstitious feare: for some sayed, that sprites were come againe, and straunge sightes were seene. The prognosticatours also sayed, they perceived by their sacrifices, the cittie was defiled with some abhominable and wicked things, which were of necessitie to be purged and throwen out. Hereupon they sent into Creta for Epimenides Phæstian, whom they reckoned the seventh of the wise men, at the least such as will not allowe Periander for one of the number. He was a holy and devoute man, and very wise in celestiall things, by inspiration from above: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the newe *Curetes*, that is to saye, Prophet: and he was thought the sonne of a Nymphe called Baltè. When he was come to Athens, and growen in friendshippe with Solon: he dyd helpe him much, and made his waye for establishing of his lawes. For he acquainted the Athenians to make their sacrifices much lighter, and of

Epimenides Phæstus taken for one of the 7 sages, excluding Periander.

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lesse coste: and brought the cittizens to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting of certaine severe and barbarous ceremonies, which the most parte of the women observed in their mourning, and he ordeined certain sacrifices which he would have done immediately after the obsequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the rest was, that by using the cittizens unto holines and devotion, daylie sacrifices, prayers unto the godds, purging of them selves, and humble offerings: he wanne mens hartes by litle and litle, to yelde them more confirmable to justice, and to be more inclined to concorde and unity. It is reported also that Epimenides, when he saw the haven of Munychia, and had long considered of it: told those about him, that men were very blinde in foreseeing things to come. For if the Athenians (sayed he) knew, what hurt this haven would bring them: they would eate it (as they saye) with their teethe. It is sayed also that Thales did prognosticate such a like thing, who after his deathe commaunded they should burie his bodie, in some vile place of no reckoning, with in the territorie of the Milesians, saying that one daye there should be the place of a cittie. Epimenides therfore being marvelously esteemed of every man for these causes, was greatly honoured of the Athenians, and they offered him great presents of money and other things, but he would take nothing, and only prayed them to geve him a boughe of the holy olyve: which they graunted him, and so he returned shortely home into Creta. Nowe that this sedition of Cylon was utterly appeased in Athens, for that the excommunicates were banished the countrie: the citty fell againe into their olde troubles and dissentions about the government of the common weale: and they were devided into so divers partes and factions, as there were people of sundry places and territories within the countrie of Attica. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and the people of the sea coaste. Those of the mountaines, tooke the common peoples parte for their lives. Those of the valley, would a fewe of the best cittizens should carie the swaye. The coaste men would, that neither of them should prevaile, bicause they would have had a meane government,

Solon pacified the sedition at Athens.

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and mingled of them both. Furthermore, the faction betwene the poore and riche, proceeding of their unequalitie, was at that time very great. By reason whereof the cittie was in great daunger, and it seemed there was no waye to pacifie or take up these controversies, unles some tyraunt happened to rise, that would take upon him to rule the whole. For all the common people were so sore indetted to the riche, that either they plowed their landes, and yelded them the sixt parte of their croppe: (for which cause they were called *Hectemorii* and servants) or els they borowed money of them at usurie, upon gage of their bodies to serve it out. And if they were not able to paye them, then were they by the law delivered to their creditours, who kept them as bonde men and slaves in their houses, or els they sent them into straunge countries to be sold: and many even for very povertie were forced to sell their owne children (for there was no lawe to forbid the contrarie) or els to forsake their cittie and countrie, for the extreme cruelty and hard dealing of these abominable usurers their creditours. Insomuch as many of the lustiest and stowtest of them, banded together in companies, and incoraged one another, not to suffer and beare any lenger such extremitie, but to choose them a stowte and trusty captaine, that might set them at libertie, and redeeme those out of captivity, which were judged to be bondmen and servants, for lacke of paying of their detts at their dayes appointed: and so to make againe a newe division of all landes and tenements, and wholy to chaunge and turne up the whole state and government. Then the wisest men of the cittie, who sawe Solon only neither partner with the riche in their oppression, neither partaker with the poore in their necessitie: made sute to him, that it would please him to take the matter in hande, and to appease and pacifie all these broyles and sedition. Yet Phanias Lesbian writeth, that he used a subtiltie, whereby he deceived both the one and the other side, concerning the common weale. For he secretly promised the poore to devide the lands againe: and the riche also, to confirme their covenants and bargaines. Howsoever it fell out, it is very certain that Solon from the beginning made it a great matter, and was very scrupulous

The miserie of dett, and usurie.

Solons equitie and uprightnes.

Solon by subtiltie set order betwext the poore and rich.

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SOLON

to deale betwene them: fearing the covetousnes of the one, and arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in the end he was chosen governour after Philombrotus, and was made reformer of the rigour of the lawes, and the temperer of the state and common weale, by consent and agreement of both parties. The rich accepted him, bicause he was no begger: the poore did also like him, bicause he was an honest man. They saye moreover, that one word and sentence which he spake (which at that present was rife in every mans mouthe) that equalitie dyd breede no stryfe: did aswell please the riche and wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one sorte conceyved of this worde equalitie, that he would measure all things according to the qualitie of the man: and the other tooke it for their purpose, that he would measure things by the number, and by the polle only. Thus the captaines of both factions persuaded and prayed him, boldly to take upon him that soveraigne authoritie, sithence he had the whole cittie nowe at his commaundement. The neawters also of every parte, when they sawe it very harde to pacifie these things with lawe and reason, were well content that the wisest, and honestest man, should alone have the royall power in his handes. Some saye also that there was such an oracle of Apollo.

Solon chosen reformer of the lawe, and chief governour.

Sitt thou at helme, as governour to steere
to guyde our course, and rule the rowling shippe,
for thou shalt see, full many Athenians there,
will take thy parte, and after thee will trippe.

But his familier friendes above all rebuked him, saying he was to be accompted no better then a beast, if for fear of the name of tyranne, he would refuse to take upon him a Kingdome: which is the most just and honorable state, if one take it upon him that is an honest man. As in the olde time, Tynnondas made him selfe King of those of Negrepont, with their consent: and as Pittacus was then presently of those of Metelin. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they saye he aunswered his friendes, that principalitie and tyrannie, was in deede a goodly place: howbeit there was no

Solon refuseth to be a tyranne.

Tynnondas, and Pittacus tyrannes.

Solons aunswer for tyrannie.

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way for a man to get out, when he was once entered into it. SOLON
And in certen verses that he wrote to Phocus, thus he sayed:

I neither blushe, nor yet repent my selfe,
that have preservde, my native soyle allwayes,
and that therein (to hourde up trashe and pelfe)
no tyrants thought, could once eclypse my prayse.
No might could move, my minde to any wronge,
which might beblot, the glory of my name:
for so I thought, to live in honour longe,
and farre excell all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that even before he was chosen reformer of the state, to stablish newe lawes: he was then of great countenaunce and authoritie. But he him selfe writeth, that many sayed of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of usurping of this tyrannie:

Suer, Solon was a foole, and of a bashefull minde,
that would refuse the great good happe, which goddes to him assignde.
The praye was in his handes, yet durst he never drawe,
the net therefore: but stoode abasht, and like a dastarde dawe.
For had not that so bene, he would (for one dayes raigne,
to be a King in Athens towne) him selfe (all quicke) have slayen.
And eke subverted quyte, his familie withall,
So sweete it is to rule the roste, yclad in princely pall.

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Nowe, notwithstanding he had refused the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remisse nor softe therefore in governing, neither would he bowe for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischief was tollerable, he dyd not straight plucke it up by the rootes: neither dyd he so chaunge the state, as he might have done, least if he should have attempted to turne upsidowne the whole government, he might afterwards have bene never able to settle and stablishe the same againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reason he would persuade his cittizens unto, or els by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he saied, sower with sweete, and force with justice. And herewith agreeth his aunswer that he made Excellent temperature.

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SOLON

afterwards, unto one that asked him, if he had made the best lawes he could for the Athenians? Yea suer, sayeth he, such as they were to receive. And this that followeth also, they have ever since observed in the Athenian tongue: to make certen things pleasaunt, that be hatefull, finely conveying them under culler of pleasing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garrisons, gardes: prisones, houses. And all this came up first by Solons invention, who called cleering of detts, *Seisachtheian* in English, 'discharge.' For the first chaunge and reformation he made in government was this: he ordeined that all manner of detts past should be cleere, and no bodye should aske his detter any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth lende money out to usurie, upon covenants for the bodye to be bounde, if it were not repayed. Howbeit some write (as Androtion among other) that the poore were contented that the interest only for usury should be moderated, without taking away the whole dett: and that Solon called this easie and gentle discharge, *Seisachtheian*, with crying up the value of money. For he raised the pound of silver, being before but three score and thirtene Drachmes, full up to an hundred: so they which were to paye great summes of money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse number of peces then the dett could have bene payed when it was borowed. And so the detters gayned much, and the creditours lost nothing. Nevertheles the more parte of them which have written the same, saye, that this crying up of money, was a generall discharge of all detts, conditions, and covenaunts upon the same: whereto the very Poemes them selves, which Solon wrote, doe seeme to agree. For he glorieth, and breaketh forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bawkes and marcks, that separated mens lands through the countrie of Attica: and that now he had set at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the cittizens of Athens, which for lacke of payment of their detts had bene condemned for slaves to their creditours, he had brought many home again out of straunge countries, where they had bene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall tongue: and other which remained at home in captivitie, he

Things hatefull made pleasaunt with sweete wordes.

Cleering of detts, Solons first lawe.

Usurie forbidden upon gage of the bodie.

The value of money cried up by Solon.

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had nowe set them all at good libertie. But while he was a doing this, men saye a thing thwarted him, that troubled him marvelously. For having framed an Edict for clearing of all detts, and lacking only a litle to grace it with words, and to geve it some prety preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaymed: he opened him selfe somewhat to certaine of his familiers whom he trusted (as Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus) and tolde them how he would not medle with landes and possessions, but would only cleere and cut of all manner of detts. These men before the proclamation came out, went presently to the money men, and borowed great summes of money of them, and layed it out straight upon lande. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchased, but restored not the money they had borowed. This fowle parte of theirs made Solon very ill spoken of, and wrongfully blamed: as if he had not only suffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong, and injustice. Notwithstanding he cleared him self of this slaunderous reporte, losing five talents by his owne lawe. For it was well knowen that so much was due unto him, and he was the first that following his owne proclamation, dyd clearely release his detters of the same. Other saye he was owing fifteene talents: and among the same, Polyzelus the Rhodian is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they ever after called Solons friendes *Greocopides*, 'cutters of detts.' This lawe neither liked the one nor the other sorte. For it greatly offended the riche, for cancelling their bondes: and it much more misliked the poore, bicause all landes and possessions they gaped for, were not made againe common, and every bodye a like riche and wealthie, as Lycurgus had made the Lacedæmonians. But Lycurgus was the eleventh descended of the right line from Hercules, and had many yeres bene king of Lacedæmon, where he had gotten great authoritie, and made him self many friends: all which things together, dyd greatly helpe him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet also, he used more persuasion then force, a good witnes thereof, the losse of his eye: preferring a lawe before his private injurie, which hath power to preserve a cittie long in union and

Lawes would be kept secret till they be published.

Ill consciences by craft prevent lawe.

A good lawemaker, beginneth to doe justice in him selfe.

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SOLON

concorde, and to make cittizens to be neither poore nor riche. Solon could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular state, and a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one seeking to winne no credit with his cittizens, but onely by his counsaile. Now, that he got the ill will of the more parte of the cittie, by his proclamation which he made: he him self doth witnesse it, saying:

> Even those which earst, did beare me frendly face,
> and spake full fayer, where ever I them met:
> gan nowe beginne, to looke full grym of grace,
> and were (like foes) in force against me set.
> As if I had done them, some spite or scorne,
> or open wronge, which were not to be borne.

Nevertheles he sayeth immediately after, that with the same authoritie and power he had, a man possibly

> Could not controll, the peoples mindes:
> nor still their braynes, which wrought like windes.

But shortely after, having a feeling of the benefit of his ordinaunce, and every one forgetting his private quarrell: they altogether made a common sacrifice, which they called the sacrifice of *Seisachthia*, or discharge, and chose Solon generall reformer of the lawe, and of the whole state of the common weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common assemblies, voyces in election, judgements in justice, and the bodie of the Senate. And they gave him also full power and authoritie, to sesse and taxe any of them, to appointe the number, what time the sesse should continewe, and to keepe, confirme, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the auncient lawes and customes then in being. To beginne withall, he first tooke away all Dracons bloudy lawes, saving for murder, and manslaughter, which were to severe and cruell. For almost he dyd ordaine but one kinde of punishment, for all kinde of faultes and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idlenes, were judged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens horteyards, and gardens of fruite, or erbes, was as severely punished: as those

Solons absolute authority in the common weale.

Solon tooke awaye all Dracons lawes.

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who had committed sacriledge or murder. Demades therefore encountered it pleasauntly, when he sayed: that Dracons lawes were not written with incke, but with bloud. And Draco him selfe being asked one daye, why his punishments were so unequall, as death for all kinde of faultes: he aunswered. Bicause he thought the least offence worthie so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grievous. Then Solon being desirous to have the chief offices of the cittie to remaine in riche mens handes, as already they dyd, and yet to mingle the authoritie of government in such sorte, as the meaner people might beare a litle swaye, which they never could before: he made an estimate of the goodes of every private cittizen. And those which he founde yerely worthe five hundred busshells of corne, and other liquide fruites and upwards, he called *Pentacosiomedimnes*: as to saye, five hundred busshell men of revenue. And those that had three hundred busshells a yere, and were able to keepe a horse of service, he put in the second degree, and called them knightes. They that might dispend but two hundred busshells a yere, were put in the thirde place, and called *Zeugites*. All other under those, were called *Thetes*, as ye would saye, hyerlings, or craftes men living of their labour: whom he dyd not admit to beare any office in the cittie, neither were they taken as free cittizens, saving they had voyces in elections, and assemblies of the cittie, and in judgements, where the people wholy judged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwardes they felt it was to great purpose: for hereby the most parte of private quarrells and strifes that grewe among them, were in the ende layed open before the people. For he suffered those to appeale unto the people, which thought they had wrong judgement in their causes. Furthermore, bicause his lawes were written somewhat obscurely, and might be diversely taken and interpreted: this dyd geve a great deale more authoritie and power to the judges. For, considering all their controversies could not be ended, and judged by expresse lawe: they were driven of necessitie allwayes to ronne to the judges, and debated their matters before them. In so muche as the judges by this meanes came to be somewhat above the lawe:

Solon rateth everie cittizen at a certen summe.

Pentacosiomedimni.

Zeugitæ.

Thetes.

The darknes of the lawe increased, the authoritie of the judge.

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SOLON

for they dyd even expounde it as they would them selves. Solon self doth note this equall division of the publicke authoritie, in a place of his poesies, where he sayeth:

Suche power have I geven, to common peoples hande,
as might become their meane estate, with equity to stande:
and as I have not pluct, from them their dignitie,
so have I not to much increast, their small authoritie.
Unto the riche likewise, I have allowed no more,
then well might seeme (in just conceit) sufficient for their store.
And so I have for both provided in such wise,
that neither shall eche other wrong, nor seeme for to despise.

Yet considering it was meete to provide for the povertie of the common sorte of people: he suffered any man that would, to take upon him the defence, of any poore mans case that had the wrong. For if a man were hurte, beaten, forced, or otherwise wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully sue the offendour, and prosecute lawe against him. And this was a wise lawe ordeined of him, to accustome his cittizens to be sorie one for anothers hurte, and so to feele it, as if any parte of his owne bodie had bene injured. And they saye he made an aunswer on a time, agreable to this law. For, being asked what cittie he thought best governed: he aunswered. That cittie where such as receyve no wronge, doe as earnestly defend wrong offered to other, as the very wrong and injurie had bene done unto them selves. He erected also the counsaill of the Areopagites, of those magistrates of the cittie, out of which they did yerely choose their governour: and he him self had bene of that number, for that he had bene governour for a yere. Wherfore perceyving now the people were growen to a stomake, and hawtines of minde, bicause they were cleare discharged of their detts: he set one up for matters of state, another counsell of an hundred chosen out of every tribe, whereof foure hundred of them were to consult and debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great counsell of the people at large should be assembled, no matters should be put forth, onles it had bene before well considered of, and digested, by the counsell of the foure hundred. Moreover, he ordeined the higher

The counsell of the Areopagites.

3 Counsells erected in Athens.

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courte should have the chiefe authoritie and power over all things, and chiefly to see the lawe executed and mainteined: supposing that the common weale being settled, and stayed with these two courtes (as with two stronge anker holdes) it should be the lesse turmoyled and troubled, and the people also better pacified and quieted. The most parte of writers holde this opinion, that it was Solon which erected the counsaill of the Areopagites, as we have sayed, and it is very likely to be true, for that Dracon in all his lawes and ordinaunces made no manner of mention of the Areopagites, but allwayes speaketh to the Ephetes (which were judges of life and death) when he spake of murder, or of any mans death. Notwithstanding, the eight law of the thirtenth table of Solon sayeth thus, in these very words: All such as have bene banished or detected of naughty life, before Solon made his laws, shalbe restored againe to their goodes and good name, except those which were condemned by order of the counsaill of the Areopagites, or by the Ephetes, or by the Kings in open courte, for murder, and death of any man, or for aspiring to usurpe tyrannie. These wordes to the contrarie, seeme to prove and testifie, that the counsell of the Areopagites was, before Solon was chosen reformer of the lawes. For howe could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counsell of the Areopagites before Solon, if Solon was the first that gave it authoritie to judge? onles a man will saye peradventure, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obscure and darke, and would supply that they lacked, with expounding of the same by them. Those which shalbe founde attainted and convicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the counsaill of the Areopagites, the Ephetes, or the governours of the cittie when this lawe shall come forth: shall stand condemned still, and all other shalbe pardoned, restored, and set at libertie. Howsoever it is, sure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore amongest the rest of his lawes, one of them in deede was of his owne devise: for the like was never stablished els where. And it is that lawe, that pronounceth him defamed, and unhonest, who in a civill uprore among the cittizens, sitteth still a

Other lawes of Solon.

A lawe against neawters.

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SOLON

looker on, and a neawter, and taketh parte with neither side. Whereby his minde was as it should appeare, that private men should not be only carefull to put them selves and their causes in safety, nor yet should be careles for other mens matters, or thincke it a vertue not to medle with the miseries and misfortunes of their countrie, but from the beginning of every sedition that they should joyne with those that take the justest cause in hande, and rather to hazarde them selves with such, then to tarie looking (without putting them selves in daunger) which of the two should have the victorie.

An acte for matching with inheritours.

There is another lawe also, which at the first sight me thinketh is very unhonest and fond. That if any man according to the lawe hath matched with a riche heire and inheritour, and of him selfe is impotent, and unable to doe the office of a husband, she maye lawfully lye with any whom she liketh, of her husbands nearest kinsemen. Howbeit some affirme, that it is a wise made lawe for those, which knowing them selves unmeete to entertaine wedlocke, will for covetousnes of landes, marye with riche heires and possessioners, and minde to abuse poore gentlewomen under the colour of lawe: and will thincke to force and restraine nature. For, seeing the lawe suffereth an inheritour or possessioner thus ill bestowed, at her pleasure to be bolde with any of her husbands kynne: men will either leave to purchase such mariages, or if they be so careles that they will nedes marye, it shalbe to their extreme shame and ignominie, and so shall they deservedly paye for their greedy covetousnes. And the lawe is well made also, bicause the wife hath not scope to all her husbands kynsemen, but unto one choyce man whom she liketh best of his house: to the ende that the children that shalbe borne, shalbe at the least of her husbands bloude and kynred. This also confirmeth the same, that such a newe maryed wife should be shut up with her husband, and eate a quince with him: and that he also which maryeth such an inheritour, should of duety see her thryse a moneth at the least. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honest woman, that he loveth her, and that he esteemeth of her. Besides, it taketh awaye many mislikings

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and displeasures which oftentimes happen in such cases, and keepeth love and good will waking, that it dye not utterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke awaye all joynters and dowries in other mariages, and willed that the wives should bring their husbands but three gownes only, with some other litle moveables of small value, and without any other thing as it were: utterly forbidding that they should buye their husbands, or that they should make marchaundise of mariages, as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman should marye together for issue, for pleasure, and for love, but in no case for money. And for proofe hereof, Dionysius the tyranne of Sicile, one daye aunswered his mother (which would needes be maried to a young man of Syracusa) in this sorte. I have power (saieth he) to breake the lawes of Syracusa, by having the Kingdome: but to force the law of nature, or to make mariage without the reasonable compasse of age, that passeth my reache and power. So is it not tolerable, and much lesse allowable also, that such disorder should be in well ordered citties, that such uncomely and unfit mariages should be made, betweene coples of so unequall yeres: considering there is no meete nor necessary ende of such matches. A wise governour of a cittie, or a judge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well saye to an olde man that should marye with a young mayde, as the Poet sayeth of Philoctetes:

Solon forbiddeth jointers and dowries.

Dionysius saying of mariages.

> Ah seely wretche, how trymme a man arte thou,
> at these young yeres, for to be maryed nowe?

And finding a young man in an olde riche womans house, getting his living by riding of her errants, and waxing fat as they saye the partridge doth by treading of the hennes: he maye take him from thence, to bestowe him on some young mayde that shall have neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another lawe of Solons, which forbiddeth to speake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touche the dead, no more than to touche holy things: and men should take great heede to offende those that are departed out of this world, besides it is a

A law forbidding to speake evill of the dead.

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SOLON

token of wisedome and civillitie, to beware of immortall enemies. He commaunded also in the selfe same lawe, that no man should speake ill of the living, specially in Churches, during divine service, or in counsaill chamber of the cittie, nor in the Theaters whilest games were a playing: upon payne of three silver *Drachmes to be payed to him that was injured, and two to the common treasurie. For he thought it to much shameles boldnes, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreover, that such lacked civillitie and good manners: and yet altogether to suppresse and smother it, he knewe it was not only a harde matter, but to some natures unpossible. And he that maketh lawes, must have regarde to the common possibilitie of men, if he will punishe litle, with profitable example, and not much without some profit. So was he marvelously well thought of, for the lawe that he made touching willes and testaments. For before, men might not lawfully make their heires whom they would, but the goodes came to the children or kynred of the testatour. But he leaving it at libertie, to dispose their goods where they thought good, so they had no children of their owne: dyd therein preferre friendship before kynred, and good will and favour before necessitie and constrainte, and so made every one lorde and master of his owne goodes. Yet he dyd not simply and a like allowe all sortes of giftes, howsoever they were made: but those only which were made by men of sound memorie, or by those whose wittes fayled them not by extreme sicknes, or through drincks, medicines, poysonings, charmes, or other such violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither yet through the intisements and persuasions of women. As thincking very wisely, there was no difference at all betweene those that were evidently forced by constraint, and those that were compassed and wrought by subornation at length to doe a thing against their will, taking fraude in this case equall with violence, and pleasure with sorowe, as passions with madnes, which commonly have as much force the one as the other, to drawe and drive men from reason. He made another lawe also, in which he appointed women their times to goe abroade into the fieldes, their mourning, their feastes and sacrifices, plucking from them all disorder

*Drachmæ.

A lawe for willes and testaments.

A lawe for womens going abroade.

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and wilfull libertie, which they used before. For he dyd forbid that they should carie out of the cittie with them above three gownes, and to take vittells with them above the value of an halfe pennie, neither basket nor pannier above a cubite highe: and specially he dyd forbid them to goe in the night, other then in their coche, and that a torche should be caried before them. He dyd forbid them also at the buriall of the dead, to teare and spoyle them selves with blowes, to make lamentations in verses, to weepe at the funeralles of a straunger not being their kinseman, to sacrifice an oxe on the grave of the dead, to burie above three gownes with the corse, to goe to other mens graves, but at the very time of burying the corse: all which or the most parte of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this daye. Moreover, those lawes appointe a penaltie upon such women as offend in the same, to be distrayned for, by certaine officers expressely named, to controll and reforme the abuses of women, as womanish persones and faynte harted, which suffer them selves to be overcome with such passions and fondnes in their mourning. And perceyving that the cittie of Athens beganne to replenish daylie more and more, by mens repayring thither from all partes, and by reason of the great assured safetie, and libertie that they founde there: and also considering howe the greatest parte of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffeking the seas, are not wonte to bring any marchaundise to those, which can geve them nothing againe in exchaunge: he beganne to practise that his cittizens should give them selves unto craftes and occupations, and made a lawe, that the sonne should not be bounde to relieve his father being olde, onles he had set him in his youth to some occupation. It was a wise parte of Lycurgus (who dwelt in a cittie where was no resorte of straungers, and had so great a territorie as could have furnished twise as many people, as Euripides sayeth, and moreover on all sides was environned with a great number of slaves of the Ilotes, whom it was needefull to keepe still in labour and worcke continually) to have his cittizens allwayes occupied in exercises of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other

SOLON

Craftes and occupations advaunced.

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SOLON

science, but discharged them of all other miserable occupations and handy craftes. But Solon framing his lawes unto things, and not things unto lawes, when he sawe the countrie of Attica so leane and barren, that it could hardely bring forth to susteine those that tilled the grounde only, and therefore much more impossible to keepe so great a multitude of idle people as were in Athens: thought it very requisite to set up occupations, and to geve them countenaunce and estimation. Therefore he ordeined, that the counsaill of the Areopagites, should have full power, and authoritie to enquier how every man lived in the cittie, and also to punishe such as they found idle people, and dyd not labour. But this was thought to severe and straight a lawe which he ordeined (as Heraclides Ponticus writeth) that the children borne of common harlotts and strumpets should not be bounde to relieve their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainely sheweth that he tooke not a wife to have children, but only to satisfie his lust and pleasure: and so such an one hath his just reward, and is disapointed of the reverence that a father ought to have of his children, since through his owne faulte the birth of his childe falleth out to his reproche. Yet to saye truely, in Solons laws touching women, there are many obsurdities, as they fall out ill favoredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an adulterer taking him with the facte. But he that ravisheth or forcibly taketh awaye a free woman, is only condemned to paye a hundred silver *drachmes. And he that was the Pandor to procure her, should only paye twenty drachmes. Onles she had bene a common strumpet or curtisan: for such doe justefy open accesse, to all that will hier them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any persone to sell his daughters or sisters, onles the father or brother had taken them, abusing them selves before mariage. Me thincketh it is farre from purpose and reason, with severitie to punish a thing in one place, and over lightly to passe it over in another: or to set some light fine on ones head for a great faulte, and after to discharge him, as it were but a matter of sporte. Onles they will excuse it thus, that money being very harde and scante at that time in Athens, those

The authoritie of the courte and counsaile of the Areopagites.

*Drachmæ.

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fines were then very great and grievous to paye. For in setting out the charges of offerings which should be made in sacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a convenient offering, and he setteth a busshell of corne at a silver drachme. More he ordeined, that they which wonne any of the games at Athens, should paye to the common treasurie an hundred drachmes. And those that wonne any of the games *Olympicall*, five hundred drachmes. Also he appointed that he which brought a he woulfe, should have five drachmes, and him one drachme for reward of a she woulfe. Whereof as Demetrius Phalerian writeth: the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordeined in the sixtenth table of his lawes mete for burnt sacrifices, it is likely he dyd rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarilie they were worth: and yet notwithstanding, the price which he setteth, is very litle in comparison of that which they are worth at this daye. Nowe it was a custome ever amongest the Athenians to kill their woulfes, bicause all their countrie laye for pasture, and not for tillage. Some there be that saye, the tribes of the people of Athens have not bene called after the names of the children of Ion, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their divers trades and manners of living, which they tooke them selves unto from the beginning. For, such as gave them selves unto the warres, were called *Oplites*: as who would saye, men of armes. Those that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to saye, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, and followed the plough, were called *Teleontes*: as you would saye, labouring men. And those that kept beastes and cattell, were called *Ægicores*: as much to saye, as heard men. Nowe, forasmuch as the whole province of Attica was very drye, and had great lacke of water, being not full of rivers, ronning streames, nor lakes, nor yet stored with any great number of springs, insomuch as they are driven there to use (through the most parte of the countrie) water drawen out of welles made with mens handes: he made such an order, that where there was any well within the space of an Hippicon, that every bodye within that circuite,

The tribes of the Athenians howe they were called.

An acte for welles.

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SOLON

might come and drawe water onely at that well, for his use and necessitie. Hippicon is the distaunce of foure furlonges, which is halfe a mile: and those that dwelt further of, should goe seeke their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged tenne yardes deepe in their grounde, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this case, they might lawfully goe to their next neighbours well, and take a pot full of water conteining six gallons, twise a daye: judging it great reason that necessitie should be holpen, but not that idlenes should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept and observed by those, that would set or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very skilfull in these matters. For he ordeined, that whosoever would plante any kynde of trees in his grounde, he should set them five foote a sonder one from another: but for the figge tree and olyve tree specially, that they should in any case be nine foote a sonder, bicause these two trees doe spread out their branches farre of, and they cannot stand neere other trees, but they must needes hurte them very much. For besides that they drawe awaye the same that doth nourishe the other trees, they cast also a certaine moisture and steame upon them, that is very hurtefull and incommodious. More he ordeined, that whosoever would digge a pytte or hole in his grounde, he should digge it as farre of from his neighbours pyt, as the pytte he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would set up a hive of bees in his grounde, he should set them at the least three hundred foote from other hives set about him before. And of the fruites of the earth, he was contented they should transporte and sell only oyle out of the Realme to straungers, but no other fruite or graine. He ordeined that the governour of the cittie should yerely proclaime open curses against those that should doe to the contrarie, or els he him selfe making default therein, should be fined at a hundred drachmes. This ordinaunce is in the first table of Solon lawes, and therefore we maye not altogether discredit those which saye, they did forbid in the olde time that men should carie figges out of the countrie of Attica, and that from thence it came that these picke thanckes, which bewraye and accuse

An acte for planting and setting of trees.

Drachmæ.

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them that transported figges, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another lawe also against the hurte that beastes might doe unto men. Wherein he ordeined, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him should deliver to him that was bitten, his dogge tyed to a logge of timber of foure cubites longe: and this was a very good devise, to make men safe from dogges. But he was very straight in one lawe he made, that no straunger might be made denizen and free man of the cittie of Athens, onles he were a banished man for ever out of his countrie, or els that he should come and dwell there with all his familie, to exercise some crafte or science. Notwithstanding, they saye he made not this lawe so much to put straungers from there freedome there, as to drawe them thither, assuring them by this ordinaunce, they might come and be free of the cittie: and he thought moreover, that both the one and the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of Athens. The one of them, for that against their willes they were driven to forsake their countrie: and the other sorte, for that advisedly and willingly they were contented to forsake it. This also was another of Solons lawes, which he ordeined for those that should feast certen dayes at the towne house of the cittie, at other mens cost. For he would not allow, that one man should come often to feasts there. And if any man were invited thither to the feast, and dyd refuse to come: he dyd set a fine on his head, as reproving the miserable niggardlines of the one, and the presumptuous arrogancy of the other, to contemne and despise common order. After he had made his lawes, he dyd stablishe them to continewe for the space of one hundred yeres, and they were written in tables of wood called *Axones*, which were made more long then broade, in the which they were graven: whereof there remaine some monuments yet in our time, which are to be seene in the towne hall of the cittie of Athens. Aristotle sayeth, that these tables were called *Cyrbes*. And Cratinus also the Comicall poet sayeth in one place, of Solon and Dracon: that *Cyrbes* was a vessell or panne wherein they dyd frye millet or hirse. Howbeit others saye, that *Cyrbes* properly were the tables, which conteined the ordinaunces of the

Feasts for townes men in the towne hall of Athens.

Axones.

Cyrbes.

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SOLON

sacrifices: and *Axones* were the other tables, that concerned the common weale. So, all the counsels and magistrates together dyd sweare, that they would kepe Solons lawes them selves, and also cause them to be observed of others throughly and particularly. Then every one of the *Thesmothetes* (which were certaine officers attendaunt on the counsell, and had speciall charge to see the lawes observed) dyd solemnly sweare in the open market place, neere the stone where the proclamations are proclaimed: and every of them, both promised, and vowed openly to keepe the same lawes, and that if any of them dyd in any one pointe breake the said ordinaunces, then they were content that such offender should paye to the temple of Apollo, at the cittie of Delphes, an image of fine golde, that should waye as much as him self. Moreover Solon seeing the disorder of the moneths, and the moving of the moone, which followed not the course of the sunne, and used not to rise and fall when the sunne doth, but oftetimes in one daye, it doth both touche and passe the sunne: he was the first that called the chaunge of the moone, *Enecaì néa*, as much as to say, as 'olde and newe moone.' Allowing that which appeared before the conjunction, to be of the moneth past: and that which shewed it self after the conjunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the first also (in my opinion) that understoode Homer rightly, when he sayed: Then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the chaunge, he called *Neomenia*, as much to saye, as 'the newe moneth,' or 'the newe moone.' After the twenty day of the moneth which they called *Icada*, he reckoned not the rest of the moneth, as increasing, but as in the wane: and gathered it by seing the light of the moone decreasing untill the thirtie day. Now after his lawes were come abroade, and proclaimed, there came some daylie unto him, which either praised them, or misliked them: and prayed him either to take awaye, or to adde some thing unto them. Many againe came and asked him, howe he understoode some sentence of his lawes: and requested him to declare his meaning, and how it should be taken. Wherefore considering howe it were to no purpose to refuse to doe it, and againe howe it would get him much envie and ill will to

Thesmothetes.

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yelde thereumto: he determined (happen what would) to winde him selfe out of these bryars, and to flye the gronings, complaints, and quarrells of his cittizens. For he sayeth him selfe: SOLON

> Full harde it is, all mindes content to have,
> and specially in matters harde and grave.

So, to convey him self a while out of the waye, he tooke upon him to be master of a shippe in a certaine voyage, and asked licence for tenne yeres of the Athenians to goe beyond sea, hoping by that time the Athenians would be very well acquainted with his lawes. So went he to the seas, and the first place of his arrivall was in Egypt, where he remained a while, as he him self sayeth. Solons travell.

> Even there where Nylus, with his crooked crankes
> by Canobe, falles into the sea banckes.

He went to his booke there, and dyd conferre a certaine time with Psenophis Heliopolitan, and Sonchis Saitan, two of the wisest priestes at that time that were in Egypt: whom when he heard rehearse the storie of the Iles Atlantides as Plato writeth, he proved to put the same in verse, and dyd send it abroade through Grece. At his departure out of Egypt he went into Cyprus, where he had great curtesy and friendship of one of the princes of that countrie, called Philocyprus, who was lorde of a prety litle cittie which Demophon (Theseus sonne) caused to be built upon the river of Clarie, and was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane and barren countrie. Whereupon Solon tolde him, it would doe better a great deale to remove it out of that place, into a very fayer and pleasaunt valley that laye underneath it, and there to make it larger and statelier then it was: which was done according to his persuasion. And Solon self being present at it, was made overseer of the buildings, which he dyd helpe to devise and order in good sorte, aswell in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lordes of the countrie dyd followe th' example of this Philocyprus, who to honour Solon, called Clarius fl.

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SOLON

Æpia called Soles.

his cittie Soles, which before was called Æpia. Solon in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his wordes unto Philocyprus, as followeth:

So graunt the goddes, that thou, and thine offspring
maye clyme to great, and passing princely state:
long time to live, in Soles florishing.
And that they graunt, my shippe and me good gate
when I from hence, by seas shall take my waye:
that with her harpe, dame Venus doe vouchesafe
to waft me still, untill she maye conveye
my selfe againe, into my countrey safe.
Since I have bene, the only meane and man,
which here to build, this cittie first beganne.

And as for the meeting and talke betwext him and king Crœsus, I know there are that by distance of time will prove it but a fable, and devised of pleasure: but for my parte I will not reject, nor condemne so famous an historie, received and approved by so many grave testimonies. Moreover it is very agreable to Solons manners and nature, and also not unlike to his wisedom and magnanimitie: although in all pointes it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they have busily noted the order and course of times which even to this daye, many have curiously sought to correct, and could yet never discusse it, nor accorde all contrarieties and manifest repugnaunces in the same. Solon at the desire and request of Crœsus, went to see him in the cittie of Sardis. When Solon was come thither, he seemed to be in the selfe same taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne and bred up on the mayne lande, and had never scene the sea neither farre nor neere, did imagine every river that he sawe had bene the sea. So Solon passing alongest Crœsus palace, and meeting by the waye many of the lordes of his courte richely apparelled, and carying great traines of serving men, and souldiers about them: thought ever that one of them had bene the King, untill he was brought unto Crœsus selfe. Who was passing richely arrayed, what for precious stones and juells, and for riche cullered silkes, layed on with curious goldsmithes worke, and all to shewe him self to Solon in most stately, sumptuous,

Solon sawe king Crœsus in the cittie of Sardis.

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and magnificent manner. Who perceiving by Solons repayre to his presence, that he shewed no manner of signe, nor countenance of woundring, to see so great a state before him, neither had geven out any word neere or likely to that which Crœsus looked for in his owne imagination, but rather had delivered speaches for men of judgement and understanding to know, how inwardly he much did mislike Crœsus foolish vanitie and base minde: then Crœsus commaunded all his treasuries to be opened where his golde and silver laye, next that they should shewe him his riche and sumptuous wardroppes, although that needed not: for to see Crœsus self, it was enough to discerne his nature and condition. After he had seene all over and over, being brought againe unto the presence of the King: Crœsus asked him, if ever he had seene any man more happy than him self was? Solon aunswered him, I have: and that was one Tellus a cittizen of Athens, who was a marvelous honest man, and had left his children behind him in good estimation, and well to live, and lastly, was most happy at his death, by dying honorably in the field, in defence of his countrie. Crœsus hearing this aunswer, beganne to judge him a man of litle witte, or of grosse understanding, bicause he did not thincke that to have store of gold and silver, was the only joye and felicitie of the world, and that he would preferre the life and death of a meane and private man as more happy, than all the riches and power of so mightie a King. Notwithstanding all this, Crœsus yet asked him again: What other man beside Tellus he had seene happier than him self? Solon aunswered him, that he had seene Cleobis and Biton, which were both brethern, and loved one another singularly well, and their mother in such sorte: that upon a solemne festivall daye, when she should goe to the temple of Iuno in her coche drawen with oxen: bicause they taried to long ere they could be brought, they both willingly yoked them selves by the necks, and drue their mothers coche in stead of the oxen, which marvelously rejoyced her, and she was thought most happy of all other, to have borne two such sonnes. Afterwards when they had done sacrifice to the goddesse, and made good cheere at the feast of this sacrifice, they went to

Crœsus question to Solon touching happines.

Solon esteemed Tellus a happie man.

Cleobis and Biton, happy men.

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bed: but they rose not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurte or sorowe, after they had receyved so much glorie and honour. Crœsus then could no longer bridell in his pacience, but breaking out in choller, sayed unto him: Why, doest thou recken me than in no degree of happy men? Solon would neither flatter him, nor further increase his heate, but aunswered him thus: O King of Lydians, the godds have geven us Grecians all things in a meane, and amongest other things chiefly, a base and popular wisedome, not princely nor noble: which, considering howe mans life is subject to infinite chaunges, doth forbid us to trust or glorie in these worldly riches. For time bringeth daylie misfortunes unto man, which he never thought of, nor looked for. But when the goddes have continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we thinke that man happy and blessed, and never before. Otherwise, if we should judge a man happy that liveth, considering he is ever in daunger of chaunge during life: we should be much like to him, who judgeth him the victorie before hande, that is still a fighting, and maye be overcomen, having no suertie yet to carie it away. After Solon had spoken these words, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned backe againe, leaving king Crœsus offended, but nothing the wiser, nor amended. Nowe Æsope that wrote the fables, being at that time in the cittie of Sardis, and sent for thither by the King, who entertained him very honorably: was very sorie to see that the King had geven Solon no better entertainement: so by waye of advise he said unto him: O Solon, either we must not come to princes at all, or els we must seeke to please and content them. But Solon turning it to the contrary, aunswered him: Either we must not come to princes, or we must needes tell them truely, and counsell them for the best. So Crœsus made light accompt of Solon at that time. But after he had lost the battell against Cyrus, and that his cittie was taken, him self became prisoner, and was bounde fast to a gibbet, over a great stacke of wood, to be burnt in the sight of all the Persians, and of Cyrus his enemie: he then cried out as lowde as he could, thryse together: O Solon. Cyrus

Solon commendeth the meane.

No man happie before his ende.

Æsops saying to Solon.

Solons aunswer to Æsope.

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being abashed, sent to aske him, whether this Solon he only cried upon in his extreme miserie, was a god or man. Crœsus kept it not secret from him, but sayed: He was one of the wise men of Grece, whom I sent for to come unto me on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I stoode in neede of, but only that he might witnesse my felicitie, which then I dyd enjoye: the losse whereof is nowe more hurtefull, than the enjoying of the same was good or profitable. But nowe (alas) to late I know it, that the riches I possessed then, were but words and opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter sorowe, and to present and remediles calamitie. Which the wise Grecian considering then, and foreseeing a farre of by my doings at that time, the instant miserie I suffer nowe: gave me warning I should marke the ende of my life, and that I should not to farre presume of my selfe, as puffed up then with vaine glorie of opinion of happines, the ground therof being so slippery, and of so litle suertie. These wordes being reported unto Cyrus, who was wiser than Crœsus, and seeing Solons saying confirmed by so notable an example: he dyd not only deliver Crœsus from present perill of death, but ever after honoured him so long as he lived. Thus had Solon glorie, for saving the honour of one of these Kings: and the life of the other, by his grave and wise counsaill. But during the time of his absence, great seditions rose at Athens amongest the inhabitants, who had gotten them severall heades amongest them: as those of the vallie had made Lycurgus their head. The coast men, Megacles, the sonne of Alcmæon. And those of the mountaines, Pisistratus: with whom all artificers and crafts men living of their handie labour were joyned, which were the stowtest against the riche. So that notwithstanding the cittie kept Solons lawes and ordinaunces, yet was there not that man but gaped for a chaunge, and desired to see things in another state: either parties hoping their condition would mende by chaunge, and that every of them should be better than their adversaries. The whole common weale broyling thus with troubles, Solon arrived at Athens, where every man did honour and reverence him, howbeit he was no more able to speake alowde in open assembly to the

King Crœsus wordes of Solon hanging upon a gibbet to be burnt.

Riches are but wordes and opinion.

Sedition at Athens in Solons absence.

Solon returneth to Athens.

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people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, bicause his age would not suffer him: and therefore he spake with every one of the heades of the severall factions a parte, trying if he could agree and reconcile them together againe. Whereunto Pisistratus seemed to be more willing then any of the rest, for he was curteous, and marvelous fayer spoken, and shewed him selfe besides, very good and pittiefull to the poore, and temperate also to his enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he dyd so finely counterfeate it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in those that naturally had it in them in deede. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aspiring no higher, and hating those which would attempt to chaunge the present state of the common weale, and would practise any innovation. By this arte and fine manner of his, he deceyved the poore common people. Howbeit Solon found him straight, and sawe the marke he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and sought still to winne him, and bring him to reason, saying oftetimes, both to him selfe, and to others. That who so could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which he aspired to be the chiefest, and could heale him of his greedy desire to rule: there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better cittizen than he would prove. About this time beganne Thespis to set out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delited the people for the rarenes thereof, being not many poets yet in number, to strive one against another for victorie, as afterwards there were. Solon being naturally desirous to heare and learne, and by reason of his age seeking to passe his time awaye in sportes, in musicke, and making good cheere more then ever he dyd: went one daye to see Thespis, who played a parte him selfe, as the olde facion of the Poets was, and after the playe was ended, he called him to him, and asked him: if he were not ashamed to lye so openly in the face of the worlde. Thespis aunswered him, that it was not materiall to doe or saye any such things, considering all was but in sporte. Then Solon beating the grounde with his staffe he had in his hande: But if we commend lying in sporte (quoth he) we shall finde it afterwards in good earnest,

Pisistratus wicked crafte and subtiltie.

Thespis a maker of tragedies.

Solon reproved Thespis for lying.

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in all our bargaines and dealings. Shortely after Pisistratus having wounded him self, and bloudied all his bodie over, caused his men to carie him in his coche into the market place, where he put the people in an uprore, and tolde them that they were his enemies that thus traiterously had handled and arraied him, for that he stoode with them about the governing of the common weale: insomuch as many of them were marvelously offended, and mutined by and by, crying out it was shamefully done. Then Solon drawing neere sayed unto him, O thou sonne of Hippocrates, thou doest ill favoredly counterfeate the persone of Homers Vlysses: for thou hast whipped thy self to deceive thy cittizens, as he did teare and scratch him self, to deceive his enemies. Notwithstanding this, the common people were still in uprore, being ready to take armes for Pisistratus: and there was a generall counsell assembled, in the which one Ariston spake, that they should graunte fiftie men, to cary holberds and mases before Pisistratus for garde of his persone. But Solon going up into the pulpit for orations, stowtely invayed against it: and persuaded the people with many reasons, like unto these he wrote afterwards in verse: SOLON

Eche one of you (O men) in private actes,
can playe the foxe, for slye and subtill craft·
But when you come, yfore (in all your factes)
then are you blinde, dull witted and bedaft.
For pleasaunt speache, and painted flatterie,
beguile you still, the which you never spye.

But in the ende, seeing the poore people dyd tumult still, taking Pisistratus parte, and that the riche fled here and there, he went his waye also, saying: he had shewed him selfe wiser than some, and hardier than other. Meaning, wiser than those which sawe not Pisistratus reache and fetche: and hardier than they which knewe very well he dyd aspire to be King, and yet nevertheles durst not resist him. The people went on with the motion of Ariston, and authorised the same, touching the graunte of halberders: limiting no number, but suffered him to have about him and to assemble, as many as he would, untill such time as he had gotten possession of the castell. Then the cittie was marvelously

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SOLON

affrayed and amazed: and presently Megacles, and all those which were of the house of the Alcmeonides dyd flye. Solon, who for yeares was now at his last cast, and had no man to sticke unto him: went notwithstanding into the market place, and spake to the cittizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beastlines, and faynte cowardly hartes, and encouraged them not to lose their libertie. He spake at that time notably, and worthie memorie, which ever after was remembred. Before sayed he, you might more easely have stayed this present tyrannie: but nowe that it is already facioned, you shall winne more glorie, utterly to suppresse it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all so amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his house, and layed them before his gate in the middest of the streete, saying: For my parte, I have done what I can possible, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my countrie. So from that time he betooke him selfe unto his ease, and never after delt any more in matters of state, or common weale. His friends dyd counsell him to flye: but all they could not persuade him to it. For he kept his house, and gave him selfe to make verses: in which he sore reproved the Athenians faults, saying:

Solons libertie and constancie.

> If presently, your burden heavy be:
> yet murmure not against the godds therefore.
> The fault is yours, as you your selves maye see,
> which graunted have of mightie mars the lore,
> to such as nowe, by your direction
> doe holde your necks, in this subjection.

His friends hereupon dyd warne him, to beware of such speaches, and to take hede what he sayed: least if it came unto the tyrannes eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he trusted, that he spake so boldly. He aunswered them: In my age. Howbeit Pisistratus after he had obteined his purpose, sending for him upon his worde and faith, dyd honour and entertaine him so well, that Solon in the ende became one of his counsaill, and approved many things which he dyd. For Pisistratus him selfe dyd straightly keepe, and caused his friends

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to keepe Solons lawes. Insomuch as when he was called by proces into the courte of the Areopagites for a murther, even at that time when he was a tyrante: he presented him selfe very modestly to aunswer his accusation, and to purge him selfe thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further. Pisistratus him selfe also dyd make newe lawes: as this. That he that had bene maymed, and made lame of any member in the warres, should be mainteined all his life long, at the common charges of the cittie. The selfe same was before decreed by Thersippus (as Heraclides writeth) by Solons persuasion: who dyd preferre it to the counsell. Pisistratus afterwards tooke holde of the motion, and from thence forth made it a generall lawe. Theophrastus sayeth also, it was Pisistratus, and not Solon, that made the lawe for idlenes: which was the only cause that the countrie of Attica became more fruitefull, being better manured: and the cittie of Athens waxed more quiet. But Solon having begonne to write the storie of the Iles Atlantides in verse (which he had learned of the wise men of the cittie of Sais in Egypt, and was very necessary for the Athenians) grewe wearye, and gave it over in mid waye: not for any matters or busines that troubled him, as Plato sayed, but only for his age, and bicause he feared the tediousnes of the worke. For otherwise he had leysure enough, as appeareth by his verses where he sayeth:

A good lawe for reward of service.

> I growe olde, and yet I learne still.

And in another place where he sayeth,

> Nowe Venus yeldes me swete delights,
> and Bacchus lends me comfort still:
> the muses eke, refreshe my sprights,
> and much relieve my weary will.
> These be the pointes of perfect ease,
> which all mens mindes oftetimes doe please.

Plato afterwards for beawtifying of the storie and fables of the Iles Atlantides, was desirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by waye of speache have broken up a field or laye lande of his owne, or that this gifte had descended to him of right from Solon. He beganne to raise

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SOLON

up a stately fronte unto the same, and enclosed it with high walles, and large squared courtes at the entrie thereof: such was it, as never any other worke, fable, or poeticall invention had ever so notable, or the like. But bicause he beganne a litle to late, he ended his life before his worke, leaving the readers more sorowfull for that was left unwritten, than they tooke pleasure in that they founde written. For even as in the cittie of Athens, the temple of Iupiter Olympian only remained unperfect: so the wisdome of Plato (amongest many goodly matters of his that have come abroade) left none of them unperfect, but the only tale of the Iles Atlantides. Solon lived long time after Pisistratus had usurped the tyrannie, as Heraclides Ponticus writeth. Howbeit Phanias Ephesian writeth, that he lived not above two yeres after. For Pisistratus usurped tyrannicall power in the yere that Comias was chief governour in Athens. And Phanias writeth, that Solon dyed in the yere that Hegestratus was governour, which was the next yere after that. And where some saye, the ashes of his bodie were after his death strawed abroade through the Ile of Salamina: that seemeth to be but a fable, and altogether untrue. Nevertheles it hath bene written by many notable authours, and amongest others, by Aristotle the philosopher.

THE ENDE OF SOLONS LIFE

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THE LIFE OF PUBLIUS VALERIUS PUBLICOLA

NOWE we have declared what Solon was, we have thought good to compare him with Publicola, to whom the Romaine people for an honour gave that surname: for he was called before Publius Valerius, descended from that auncient Valerius, who was one of the chiefest worckers and meanes, to bring the Romaines and the Sabynes that were mortall enemies, to joyne together as one people. For it was he that most moved the two Kings to agree, and joyne together. Publicola being descended of him, whilest the Kings dyd rule yet at Rome, was in very great estimation, aswell for his eloquence, as for his riches: using the one rightly and freely, for the maintenaunce of justice, and the other liberally and curteously, for the relief of the poore. So that it was manifest, if the Realme came to be converted into a publicke state, he should be one of the chiefest men of the same. It chaunced that king Tarquine surnamed the prowde, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarylie by indirect and wicked wayes, and behaving him selfe not like a King, but like a cruell tyrante: the people much hated and detested him, by reason of the death of Lucretia (which killed her selfe for that she was forcibly ravished by him) and so the whole cittie rose and rebelled against him. Lucius Brutus taking upon him to be the head and captaine of this insurrection and rebellion, did joyne first with this Valerius: who dyd greately favour and assist his enterprise, and did helpe him to drive out king Tarquine with all his house and familie. Nowe whilest they were thincking that the people would chuse some one alone to be chief ruler over them, in stead of a King: Valerius kept him selfe quiet, as yelding

The house of P. Valerius.

Tarquinius Superbus.

Valerius, Brutus companion, in expulsing the Kings.

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PUBLICOLA willingly unto Brutus the first place, who was meetest for it, having bene the chief authour and worcker of their recovered libertie. But when they sawe the name of *Monarchie* (as much to saye, as soveraintie alone) was displeasaunt to the people, and that they would like better to have the rule devided unto two, and how for this cause they would rather choose two Consuls: Valerius then beganne to hope, he should be the seconde persone with Brutus. Howbeit this hope fayled him. For against Brutus will, Tarquinius Collatinus (the husband of Lucretia) was chosen Consul with him: not bicause he was a man of greater vertue, or of better estimation than Valerius. But the noble men of the cittie fearing the practises of the Kings abroade, which sought by all the fayer and flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the cittie: dyd determine to make such an one Consul, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heavy enemie, persuading them selves that Tarquinius Collatinus would for no respect yeld unto them. Valerius tooke this matter grevously, but they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not doe any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: notwithstanding he had never any private injurie offered him by the tyrannes. Wherfore, he repaired no more unto the Senate to pleade for private men, and wholy gave up to medle in matters of state: insomuch as he gave many occasion to thincke of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared least upon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings side, and so bring all the cittie in an uprore, considering it stoode then but in very tickle termes. But when Brutus, who stoode in jealousie of some, would by othe be assured of the Senate, and had appointed them a daye solemnely to take their othes upon the sacrifices: Valerius then with a good cheerefull countenaunce came into the market place, and was the first that tooke his othe he would leave nothing undone, that might prejudice the Tarquines, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the libertie of the cittie. This othe of his marvelously rejoyced the Senate, and gave great assurance also to the Consuls, but specially, bicause his dedes dyd shortly after performe his

Lucius Brutus. Tarquinius Collatinus Consuls.

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wordes. For there came ambassadours to Rome which brought letters from king Tarquine, full of sweete and lowly speaches to winne the favour of the people, with commission to use all the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardened harts of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pryde and crueltie, and ment to aske nought but reasonable things. The Consuls thought best to geve them open audience, and to suffer them to speake to the people. But Valerius was against it, declaring it might perill the state much, and deliver occasion of new sturre unto a multitude of poore people, which were more affrayed of warres, then of tyrannie. After that, there came other ambassadours also, which sayed that Tarquine would from thenceforth for ever geve over and renounce his title to the Kingdome, and to make any more warres, but besought them only, that they would at the least deliver him and his friends their money and goods, that they might have wherewithall to keepe them in their banishment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeld to this request, and specially Collatinus, one of the Consuls who dyd favour their motion. But Brutus that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his harte, ranne immediately into the market place, crying out that his fellowe Consul was a traytour, and contented to graunt the tyrannes matter, and meanes to make warre upon the cittie, where in deede they deserved not so much, as to be relieved in their exile. Hereupon the people assembled together, and the first that spake in this assembly, was a private man called Gaius Minutius, who speaking unto Brutus, and to the whole assembly, sayed unto them: O noble Consul and Senate, handle so the matter, that the tyrannes goods be rather in your custodie to make warre with them, than in theirs, to bring warre upon your selves. Notwithstanding, the Romaines were of opinion, that having gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrannes: they should not disapoint the offered peace, with keeping backe their goodes, but rather they should throwe their goods out after them. Howbeit this was the least parte of Tarquines intent, to seeke his goodes againe: but under pretence of that demaund,

The first embassiate of king Tarquine for recovering his Realme.

Another embassiate from Tarquine demaunding his goodes.

Good counsell of Minutius.

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PUBLICOLA

Tarquines ambassadours practise treason.

he secretly corrupted the people, and practised treason, which his ambassadours followed, pretending only to get the Kings goodes and his favourers together, saying, that they had already solde some parte, and some parte they kept, and sent them daylie. So as by delaying the time in this sorte with such pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and auncientest houses of the cittie: to wit, the familie of the Aquilians, whereof there were three Senatours: and the familie of the Vitellians, whereof there were two Senatours: all which by their mothers, were Consul Collatinus nephewes. The Vitellians also were allied unto Brutus, for he had maried their owne sister, and had many children by her. Of the which the Vitellians had drawen to their stringe, two of the eldest of them, bicause they familiarly frequented together, being cosin germaines: whom they had intised to be of their conspiracie, allying them with the house of the Tarquines, which was of great power, and through the which they might persuade them selves to rise to great honour and preferment by meanes of the Kings, rather than to trust to their fathers willfull hardnes. For they called his severitie to the wicked, hardnes: for that he would never pardone any. Furthermore Brutus had fayned him selfe mad, and a foole of long time for safety of his life, bicause the tyrannes should not put him to death: so that the name of Brutus only remained. After these two young men had geven their consent to be of the confederacie, and had spoken with the Aquilians: they all thought good to be bounde one to another, with a great and horrible othe, drincking the bloude of a man, and shaking hands in his bowells, whom they would sacrifice. This matter agreed upon betweene them, they met together to put their sacrifice in execution, in the house of the Aquilians. They had fittely pickt out a darcke place in the house to doe this sacrifice in, and where almost no bodye came: yet it happened by chaunce, that one of the servants of the house called Vindicius, had hidden him selfe there, unknowing to the traytours, and of no set purpose, to spye and see what they dyd, or that he had any manner of inckling thereof before: but falling by chaunce upon the matter, even as the

The Aquilii and Vitellii with Brutus sonnes, traytours to their countrie.

The confederacy confirmed with drinking of mans bloud.

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traytours came into that place with a countenaunce to doe some secret thing of importaunce, fearing to be seene, he kept him selfe close, and laye behinde a coffer that was there, so that he sawe all that was done, and what they sayed and determined. The conclusion of their counsell in the ende was this, that they would kill both the Consuls: and they wrote letters to Tarquinius advertising the same, which they gave unto his ambassadours, being lodged in the house of the Aquilians, and were present at this conclusion. With this determination they departed from thence, and Vindicius came out also as secretly as he could, being marvelously troubled in minde, and at a maze howe to deale in this matter. For he thought it daungerous (as it was in deede) to goe and accuse the two sonnes unto the father (which was Brutus) of so wicked and detestable a treason, and the nephewes unto their uncle, which was Collatinus. On the other side also, he thought this was a secret, not to be imparted to any private persone, and not possible for him to conceale it, that was bounde in duety to reveale it. So he resolved at the last to goe to Valerius to bewraye this treason, of a speciall affection to this man, by reason of his gentle and curteous using of men, geving easy accesse and audience unto any that came to speake with him, and specially for that he disdained not to heare poore mens causes. Vindicius being gone to speake with him, and having tolde him the whole conspiracy before his brother Marcus Valerius, and his wife, he was abashed and fearefull withall: whereupon he stayed him least he should slippe awaye, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watche the doore, that no bodie went in nor out unto him. And willed his brother also, that he should goe and beset the Kings palace round about, to intercept these letters if it were possible, and to see that none of their servants fled. Valerius selfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friendes and people that wayted on him, went straight unto the house of the Aquilians, who by chaunce were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he founde the letters in the chamber, where king Tarquines ambassadours laye.

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Vindicius heareth all their treason.

The conclusion of their treason.

Vindicius bewrayeth the treason unto Valerius.

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PUBLICOLA Whilest he was thus occupied, the Aquilians having intelligence thereof, ranne home immediately, and founde Valerius comming out at their gate. So they would have taken those letters from him by force, and strong hande. But Valerius and his company dyd resist them, and moreover hudded them with their gownes over their heads, and by force brought them (doe what they could) into the market place. The like was done also in the Kings palace, where Marcus Valerius founde other letters also wrapt up in certaine fardells for their more safe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings servaunts he founde there. There the Consuls having caused silence to be made, Valerius sent home to his house for this bondman Vindicius, to be brought before the Consuls: then the traytours were openly accused, and their letters redde, and they had not the face to aunswer one worde. All that were present, being amazed, honge downe their heades, and behelde the grounde, and not a man durst once open his mouth to speake, excepting a fewe, who to gratifie Brutus, beganne to say that they should banishe them: and Collatinus also gave them some hope, bicause he fell to weeping, and Valerius in like manner for that he held his peace. But Brutus calling his sonnes by their names: Come on (sayed he) Titus, and thou Valerius, why doe you not aunswer to that you are accused of? and having spoken thryse unto them to aunswer, when he sawe they stoode mute, and sayed nothing: he turned him to the sergeants, and sayed unto them: They are nowe in your handes, doe justice. So soone as he had spoken these wordes, the sergeants layed holde immediately upon the two young men, and tearing their clothes of their backs, bounde their hands behinde them, and then whipped them with roddes: which was such a pittiefull sight to all the people, that they could not finde in their hartes to behold it, but turned them selves another waye, bicause they would not see it. But contrariwise, they saye that their owne father had never his eye of them, neither dyd chaunge his austere and fierce countenaunce, with any pittie or naturall affection towards them, but stedfastly dyd beholde the punishement of his owne children,

Titus and Valerius, Brutus sonnes.

Brutus seeth his owne sonnes punished and executed.

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untill they were layed flat on the grounde, and both their heads striken of with an axe before him. When they were executed, Brutus rose from the benche, and left the execution of the rest unto his fellowe Consul. This was such an acte, as men cannot sufficiently prayse, nor reprove enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde so quiet, or els the greatnes of his miserie that tooke awaye the feeling of his sorowe: whereof neither the one nor the other was any small matter, but passing the common nature of man, that hath in it both divinenes, and somtime beastly brutishnes. But it is better the judgement of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their judgements should diminishe his vertue. For the Romaines holde opinion, it was not so great an acte done of Romulus first to build Rome: as it was for Brutus to recover Rome, and the best libertie thereof, and to renewe the auncient government of the same. When Brutus was gone, all the people in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wounder, and a great while without speaking to see what was done. The Aquilians straight grew bold, for that they sawe the other Consull Collatinus proceede gently, and mildly against them: and so made petition they might have time geuen them to aunswer to the articles they were accused of, and that they might have their slave and bondman Vindicius delivered into their handes, bicause there was no reason he should remaine with their accusers. The Consul seemed willing to yeld thereto, and was ready to breake up the assembly thereupon. But Valerius sayed, he would not deliver Vindicius (who was among the assembly that attended upon his persone) and stayed the people besides for departing awaye, least they should negligently let those escape that had so wickedly sought to betraye their countrie. Untill he him selfe had layed handes upon them, calling upon Brutus to assist him, with open exclamation against Collatinus, that he dyd not behave him selfe like a just and true man, seeing his fellowe Brutus was forced for justice sake to see his owne sonnes put to death: and he in contrary manner, to please a fewe women, sought to let goe manifest traitours, and open

Brutus, praised and reproved for the death of his sonnes.

Collatinus softnes perilous.

Valerius boldly appeacheth Collatinus of injustice.

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enemies to their countrie. The Consul being offended herewith, commaunded they should bring awaye the bondman Vindicius. So the sergeants making waye through the prease, layed handes upon him to bring him awaye with them, and beganne to strike at them which offered to resist them. But Valerius friends stept out before them, and put them by. The people showted straight, and cried out for Brutus: who with this noyse returned againe into the market place, and after silence made him, he spake in this wise. For mine own children, I alone have bene their sufficient judg, to see them have the law according to their deservings: the rest I have left freely to the judgment of the people. Wherefore (sayed he) if any man be disposed to speake, let him stand up, and persuade the people as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more wordes, but only to hearken what the people cried: who with one voyce and consent condemned them, and cried execution, and accordingly they had their heades striken of. Now was Consull Collatinus long before had in some suspition, as allied to the Kings, and disliked for his surname, bicause he was called Tarquinius: who perceyving him selfe in this case much hated and mistrusted of the people, voluntarely yelded up his Consulshippe, and departed the cittie. The people assembling then them selves, to place a successour in his roome: they chose Valerius in his roome, without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull travaill and diligence bestowed in this great matter. Then Valerius judging that Vindicius the bondman had well deserved also some recompence, caused him not only to be manumised by the whole graunte of the people, but made him a free man of the cittie besides: and he was the first bondman manumised, that was made cittizen of Rome, with permission also to geve his voyce in all elections of officers, in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, Appius to currie favour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumised, to geve their voyces also in elections, as other cittizens dyd: and unto this daye the perfect manumising and freeing of bondmen, is called *Vindicta*, after the name

Collatinus resigneth his Consulshippe, and departeth Rome.

Valerius chosen Consul in his place.

Vindicius the first bondman manumised.

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of this Vindicius, that was then made a free man. These things thus passed over, the goodes of the Kings were geven to the spoyle of the people, and their palaces were rased and overthrowen. Nowe amongest other lands, the goodliest parte of the field of Mars was belonging unto king Tarquine: the same they consecrated forthwith unto the god Mars, and not long before they had cut downe the wheat thereof. The sheaves being yet in shocks in the field, they thought they might not grinde the wheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherefore they threwe both corne and sheaves into the river, and trees also which they had hewen downe and rooted up, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god Mars, should be left bare, without bearing any fruite at all. These sheaves thus throwen into the river, were caried down by the streame not farre from thence, unto a forde and shallowe place of the water, where they first dyd staye, and dyd let the other which came after, that it could goe no further: there these heapes gathered together, and laye so close one to another, that they beganne to sincke and settle fast in the water. Afterwards the streame of the river brought downe continually such mudde and gravell, that it ever increased the heape of corne more and more in suche sorte, that the force of the water could no more remove it from thence, but rather softly pressing and driving it together, dyd firme and harden it, and made it growe so to lande. Thus this heape rising still in greatnes and firmenes, by reason that all that came downe the river stayed there, it grewe in the ende, and by time to spread so farre, that at this daye it is called the holy Ilande in Rome: in which are many goodly temples of divers goddes, and sundry walkes about it, and they call it in Latine, *Inter duos pontes*: in our tongue, 'betweene the two bridges.' Yet some write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the Tarquines was consecrated unto Mars: but that it happened afterwardes, when one of the Vestall Nunnes, called Tarquinia, gave a field of hers unto the people, which was hard adjoyning unto Tarquines field. For which liberalitie and bowntie of hers, they dyd graunte her in recompense many priviledges, and dyd her great honour besides. As amongest

Vindicta so called, by reason of Vindicius.

Tarquines field consecrated to Mars.

Whereof the holy Iland came in Rome, that lieth betwene both bridges.

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others, it was ordeined, that her word and witnes should stand good, and be allowed, in matters judiciall: which priviledge, never woman besides her self dyd enjoye. By speciall grace of the people also, it was graunted her, that she might marie if she thought it good: but yet she would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the reporte how this thing happened. Tarquinius then being past hope of ever entring into his Kingdome againe, went yet unto the Thuscans for succour, which were very glad of him: and so they leavied a great armie together, hoping to have put him in his Kingdome againe. The Consuls also hearing thereof, went out with their armie against him. Both the armies presented them selves in battell raye, one against another, in the holy places consecrated to the goddes: wherof the one was called the wodde Arsia, and the other the meadowe Æsuvia. And as both armies beganne to geve charge upon eche other, Aruns the eldest sonne of king Tarquine, and the Consul Brutus encountered together, not by chaunce, but sought for of set purpose to execute the deadly fode and malice they dyd beare eache other. The one, as against a tyrante and enemie of the libertie of his countrie: the other, as against him that had bene chief authour and worker of their exile and expulsion. So they set spurres to their horses, so soone as they had spyed eche other, with more fury then reason, and fought so desperately together, that they both fell starke dead to the ground. The first onset of the battell being so cruell, the end thereof was no lesse bloudy: untill both the armies having receyved and done like damage to eche other, were parted by a marvelous great tempest that fell upon them. Nowe was Valerius marvelously perplexed, for that he knewe not which of them wanne the field that daye: seeing his souldiers as sorowfull for the great losse of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the slaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to viewe the multitude of the slaine bodies of either side, the number was so equall in sight, that it was very hard to judge, of which side fell out the greatest slaughter: so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were persuaded in their

Tarquine commeth with a great power of the Thuscans to wage battell with the Romaines.

Arsia silva.

Aruns and Brutus encountered, and slue eche other.

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opinion, that they had rather lost then wonne, conjecturing a farre of the fall of their enemies. The night being come, such things fell out, as maye be looked for after so terrible a battell. For when both campes were all layed to rest, they saye the wodde wherein they laye incamped, quaked and trembled: and they heard a voyce saye, that onely one man more was slaine on the Thuscans side, than on the Romaines parte. Out of doubt this was some voyce from heaven: for the Romaines thereupon gave a shrill showte, as those whose hartes receyved a newe quickening spirite or corage. The Thuscans on the contrarie parte were so affrayed, that the most parte of them stole out of the campe, and scattered here and there: and there remained behind about the number of five thousand men, whom the Romaines tooke prisoners every one, and had the spoile of their campe. The carkasses were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were slaine in that battell, eleven thousand and three hundred of the Thuscans: and of the Romaines, so many saving one. This battell was fought (as they saye) the last daye of Februarie, and the Consul Valerius triumphed, being the first of the Consuls that ever entered into Rome triumphing upon a charet drawen with foure horses, which sight the people found honorable and goodly to beholde, and were not offended withall (as some seeme to reporte) nor yet dyd envy him for that he beganne it. For if it had bene so, that custome had not bene followed with so good acceptation, nor had continued so many yeres as it dyd afterwards. They much commended also the honour he dyd to his fellowe Consul Brutus, in setting out his funeralles and obsequies, at the which he made a funerall oration in his praise. They did so like and please the Romaines, that they have ever since continued that custome at the buriall of any noble man, or great personage, that he is openly praised at his buriall, by the worthiest man that liveth among them. They reporte this funerall oration is farre more auncient then the first, that was made in Grece in the like case: onles they will confirme that which the orator Anaximenes hath written, that the manner of praising the dead at their funeralls, was first of all instituted by Solon. But they dyd

The victory of the Romaines against the Thuscans.

Valerius the first Consul that ever triumphed upon a chafret.

The first beginning of funerall oration among the Romaines.

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PUBLICOLA

Anaximenes sayeth, Solon was the first that instituted prayses for the dead.

most envye Valerius, and beare him grudge, bicause Brutus (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their libertie) would never be alone in office, but had procured twise, that they should appoint Valerius fellowe Consul with him. This man in contrariwise (sayed the people) taking upon him alone the rule and soveraintie, sheweth plainely he will not be Brutus successour in his Consulshippe, but Tarquinius self in the Kingdome. For to great purpose was it to praise Brutus in wordes, and to followe Tarquinius in deedes: having borne before him selfe only all the mases, the axes and the roddes, when he cometh abroade out of his owne house, which is farre greater, and more stately, then the Kings palace which he him self overthrewe. And to saye truely, Valerius dwelt in a house a litle to sumptuously built and seated, upon the hanging of the hill called mount Velia: and bicause it stoode highe, it overlooked all the market place, so that any man might easely see from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he came out of his house, it was a marvelous pompe and state to see him come downe from so highe a place, and with a traine after him, that caried the majestie of a Kings courte. But herein Valerius left a noble example, shewing howe much it importeth a noble man and magistrate, ruling weighty causes, to have his eares open to heare, and willingly to receyve free speache in steade of flatteries, and playne trothe in place of lyes. For, being enformed by some of his friends how the people misliked and complained of it, he stoode not in his owne conceit, neither was angrie with them: but forthwith set a worlde of workmen upon it, earely in the morning before breake of daye, and commaunded them to plucke down his house, and to rase it to the ground. Insomuch as the next day following, when the Romaines were gathered together in the market place, and sawe this great sodaine ruine, they much commended the noble acte and minde of Valerius, in doing that he dyd: but so were they angrie, and sorie both, to see so fayer and stately a buylt house (which was an ornament to the cittie) overthrowen upon a sodaine. Much like in comparison to a man, whom through spite and envie they had unjustly put

Valerius stately house standing on mount Velia.

Valerius a good example for magistrates.

Valerius overthrew his stately house.

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to death: and to see their chief magistrate also like a straunger and a vacabonde, compelled to seeke his lodging in another mans house. For his friends receyved him into their houses, untill such time as the people had geven him a place, where they dyd build him a newe house, farre more orderly, and nothing so stately and curious as the first was, and it was in the same place, where the temple called Vicus Publicus standeth at this daye. Now bicause he would not only reforme his persone, but the office of his Consulshippe, and also would frame him selfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before he seemed unto them to be fearefull, he put awaye the carying of the axes from the roddes, which the sergeants used to beare before the Consul. Moreover when he came into the market place, where the people were assembled, he caused the roddes to be borne downewardes, as in token of reverence of the soveraine majestie of the people: which all the magistrates observe yet at this daye. Nowe in all this humble showe and lowlines of his, he dyd not so much imbase his dignitie and greatnes, which the common people thought him to have at the first: as he dyd thereby cut of envie from him, winning againe as much true authoritie, as in semblaunce he would seeme to have lost. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to submit them selves unto him: insomuch as upon this occasion he was surnamed Publicola, as much to saye, as the people pleaser. Which surname he kept ever after, and we from henceforth also writing the rest of his life, will use no other name: for he was contented to suffer any man that would, to offer him selfe to aske the Consulshippe in Brutus place. But he yet not knowing what kynde of man they would joyne fellowe Consul with him, and fearing least through envie or ignoraunce, the party might thwart his purpose and meaning: employed his sole power and authoritie whilest he ruled alone, upon highe and noble attempts. For first of all he supplied up the number of Senatours that were greatly decayed, bicause king Tarquine had put some of them to death not long before, and other also had bene lately slaine in the warres: in whose places he had chosen newe Senatours, to the number of a hundred

The temple called Vicus Publicus.

Why Valerius was surnamed Publicola.

Publicolaes actes and lawes.

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PUBLICOLA three score and foure. After that, he made newe decrees and lawes, which greatly dyd advaunce the authoritie of the people. The first lawe gave libertie to all offendours, condemned by judgement of the Consuls, to appeale unto the people. The second, that no man upon payne of death should take upon him the exercise of any office, unles he had come unto it by the gifte of the people. The third was, and all in favour of the poore, that the poore cittizens of Rome should paye no more custome, nor any impost whatsoever. This made every man the more willing to geve him selfe to some crafte or occupation, when he sawe his travaill should not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the law that he made against those that disobeyed the Consuls, it was founde to be so favorable to the communaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the poore, than for the riche and great men. For the offendours and breakers of that lawe, were condemned to paye for a penaltie, the value of five oxen, and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, tenne oboles, and of an oxe, a hundred oboles. For in those dayes, the Romaines had no store of coined mony, otherwise, they lacked no sheepe, nor other rother beasts. Hereof it came, that to this daye they call their riches or substaunce, *Peculium*, bicause *Pecus* signifieth sheepe and muttons. And in the olde time the stampe upon their money was an oxe, a mutton, or a hogge: and some of them called their children *Bubulci*, which signifieth cowheards: others *Caprarii*, to saye goateheards: and others *Porcii*, as you would saye, swineheardes. Nowe though in all his other lawes, he was very favorable and temperate toward the people: yet in that moderation, somtimes he dyd set grievous paynes and punishements. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accusation, that dyd aspire to the Kingdome, and he dyd set the murderer free of all punishement: so he brought forth manifest proofe, that the party slaine, had practised to make him selfe King. As being impossible a man should pretend so great a matter, and no man should finde it: and contrariwise being possible, albeit he were spyed, that otherwise he might attempt it, by making him selfe so strong, that he needed not passe for the

Whereof *Pecukium* was called.

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law. In this case he gave every man libertie by such acte or meane, to prevent him if he could of discretion: who by strength otherwise sought to aspire to reigne. They greatly commended him also for the lawe that he made touching the treasure. For being very necessarie that everie private cittizen should according to his abilitie, be contributer to the charges and maintenaunce of the warres: he him self would neither take such collection into his charge, nor suffer any man of his to medle with the same, nor yet that it should be layed in any private mans house, but he dyd ordeine that Saturnes temple should be the treasurie thereof. This order they keepe to this present daye. Furthermore, he graunted the people to chuse two young men *Quæstores* of the same, as you would saye the treasurers, to take the charge of this money: and the two first which were chosen, were Publius Veturius, and Marcus Minutius, who gathered great summes of money together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were found a hundred and thirtie thousand persones which had payed subsidie, not reckoning in this accompt, orphanes, nor widowes, which were excepted from all payments. After he had established all these things, he caused Lucretius (the father of Lucretia) to be chosen fellowe Consul with him, unto whom, for that he was his auncient, he gave the upper hande, and commaunded they should carie before him the roddes, which were the signes of the chief magistrate: and ever since they have geven this honour unto age. But Lucretius dying not long after his election, they chose againe in his place Marcus Horatius, who held out the Consulshippe with Publicola the rest of the yere. Nowe about that time king Tarquine remained in the countrie of Thuscane, where he prepared a seconde armie against the Romaines, and there fell out a marvelous straunge thing thereupon. For when he raigned king of Rome, he had almost made an ende of the building of the temple of Iupiter Capitolin, and was determined (whether by any oracle receyved, or upon any fantasy it is not knowen) to set up a coche of earth baked by a potter, in the highest place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certaine Thuscan workemen of the cittie of Veies: but whilest they were in

PUBLICOLA

The first *Quæstores*.

Publius Veturius, Marc. Minutius.

Lucretius and Publicola Consuls.

Publicola and Marcus Horatius Consuls.

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PUBLICOLA hand with the worcke, he was driven out of his Realme. When the worckemen had formed this coche, and that they had put it into the fournes to bake it, it fell out contrarie to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worcke put into the fournes. For the earth dyd not shut and close together in the fire, nor dryed up all the moisture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it dyd swell to such a bignes, and grewe so harde and strong withall, that they were driven to breake up the head and walles of the fournes to get it out. The soothesayers dyd expounde this, that it was a celestiall token from above, and promised great prosperitie and increase of power unto those, that should enjoye this coche. Whereupon the Veians resolved not to deliver it unto the Romaines that demaunded it, but aunswered that it dyd belong unto king Tarquine, and not unto those that had banished him. Not many dayes after, there was a solemne feast of games for running of horses in the cittie of Veies, where they dyd also many other notable actes, worthy sight according to their custome. But after the game was played, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie as they dyd use at that time, brought his coche and horses fayer and softely out of the showe place: and sodainely the horse being affrayed upon no present cause or occasion seene, whether it was by chaunce, or by some secret working from above, ranne as they had bene mad with their coche to the cittie of Rome. The coche driver dyd what he could possible at the first to staye them, by holding in the raynes, by clapping them on the backs, and speaking gently to them: but in the ende, perceyving he could doe no good, and that they would have their swynge, he gave place to their furie, and they never linne ronning, till they brought him neere to the Capitoll, where they overthrewe him and his coche, not farre from the gate called at this present, Ratumena. The Veians woundering much at this matter, and being affrayed withall: were contented the workmen should deliver their coche made of earth unto the Romaines. Now concerning Iupiter Capitolins temple, king Tarquine the first (which was the sonne of Demaratus) vowed in the warres that he made against the Sabynes, that he would

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buyld it. And Tarquine the prowde, being the sonne of him that made this vowe dyd buyld it: howbeit he dyd not consecrate it, bicause he was driven out of his Kingdome before he had finished it. When this temple was built and throughly finished, and set forth with all his ornaments: Publicola was marvelously desirous to have the honour of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours envying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content him selfe with all those honours that he had receyved in peace, for the good lawes he had made, and in warres for the victories he had obteined and well deserved, but further that he would seeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing dyd pertaine unto him: they then dyd egge Horatius, and persuaded him to make sute for the same. Occasion fell out at that time, that Publicola must have the leading of the Romaines armie into the field: in the meane time, while Publicola was absent, it was procured that the people gave their voyces to Horatius, to consecrate the temple, knowing they could not so well have brought it to passe he being present. Other saye, the Consuls drewe lotts betweene them, and that it lighted upon Publicola to leade the armie against his will, and upon Horatius to consecrate this temple, which maye be conjectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being assembled together in the Capitoll with great silence, on the fiftenth daye of the moneth of September, which is about the newe moone of the moneth which the Grecians call *Metagitnion*: Horatius having done all the ceremonies needefull in suche a case, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the use was even to utter the solemne wordes of dedication: Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, having stoode a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to speake, beganne to say alowde in this wise: My lorde Consul, your sonne is dead of a sicknes in the campe. This made all the assembly sorie to heare it, but it nothing amased Horatius, who spake only this muche: Cast his bodie then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to ende his consecration. This was but a devise and nothing true, of Marcus Valerius, only to make Horatius leave of his

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consecration. Horatius in this shewed him selfe a marvelous resolute man, were it that he streight founde his devise, or that he beleeved it to be true: for the sodainenes of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in consecrating of the second temple. For this first which Tarquine had built and Horatius consecrated, was consumed by fyer in the civill warres: and the second was built up againe by Sylla, who made no dedication of it. For Catulus set up the superscription of the dedication, bicause Sylla dyed before he could dedicate it. The second temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumultes which were at Rome, under Vitellius the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by Vespasian, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had above other: to see his worke perfited and finished before his death, and not overthrowen as it was immediately after his death. Wherein he dyd farre passe the happines of Sylla, who dyed before he could dedicate that he had built: and thother deceased before he sawe his worcke overthrowen. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the first temple, cost Tarquinius fortie thousand *Pondos* of silver. And to gyld only the temple which we see nowe in our time, they saye all the goodes and substaunce that the richest cittizen of Rome then had, will come nothing neere unto it: for it cost above twelve thousand talents. The pillers of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of marbell, called pentlike marbell, and they were squared parpine, as thicke as long: these I sawe at Athens. But afterwardes they were cut againe, and polished in Rome, by which doing they got not so much grace, as they lost proportion: for they were made to slender, and left naked of their first beawtie. Nowe he that would wounder at the stately buylding of the Capitoll, if he came afterwardes unto the palace Domitian, and dyd but see some galerie, porche, hall, or hotte house, or his concubines chambers: he would saye (in my opinion) as the poet Epicharmus sayed of a prodigall man:

How oft Iupiter Capitolins temple was burnt and built againe.

How much was spent in building the Capitoll.

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It is a fault, and folly both in thee
to lashe out giftes, and prodigall rewardes:
For fonde delights, without all rule that be,
regarding not what happens afterwardes.

So might they justly saye of Domitian. Thou art not liberall, nor devoute unto the goddes: but it is a vice thou hast to love to buyld, and desirest (as they saye of olde Midas) that all about thee were turned to gold, and precious stones. And thus much for this matter. Tarquine after that great foughten battell wherein he lost his sonne (that was slaine by Brutus in fighting together hande to hande) went to the cittie of Clusium, unto king Claras Porsena: the mightiest prince that raigned at that time in all Italie, and was both noble and a curteous prince. Porsena promised him ayde: and first of all he sent to Rome to summone the cittizens to receive their King againe. But the Romaines refusing the summones, he sent forthwith an Heraulde to proclaime open warres against them, and to tell them where, and when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwardes immediatly with a great armie. Publicola nowe being absent, was chosen Consul the second time, and Titus Lucretius with him. When he was returned home againe to Rome, bicause he would exceede king Porsena in greatnes of minde, he beganne to buyld a cittie called Siglivria, even when the King with all his armie was not farre from Rome: and having walled it about to his marvelous charge, he sent thither seven hundred cittizens to dwell there, to shewe that he made litle accompt of this warre. Howbeit Porsena at his coming dyd geve suche a lustie assault to the mount Ianiculum, that they drave out the souldiers which kept the same: who flying towards Rome, were pursued so harde with the enemies, that with them they had entered the towne, had not Publicola made a saly out to resist them. Who beganne a hotte skirmishe harde by the river of Tyber, and there sought to have stayed the enemies to follow any further: which being the greater number, dyd overlaye the Romaines, and dyd hurte Publicola very sore in this skirmishe, so as he was caried away into the cittie in his souldiers armes. And even so was the other Consul Lucretius hurte in like

Domitians mad building humor.

Porsena proclaimeth warres with Rome.

Publicola and Titus Lucretius Consuls.

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PUBLICOLA case: which so discoraged and frayed the Romaines, that they all tooke them to their legges, and fled towards the cittie. The enemies pursued them at their heeles as farre as the wodden bridge: so that the cittie was in marvelous hazarde of taking upon the sodaine. But Horatius Cocles, and Herminius, and Lucretius, two other of the chiefest noble young men of the cittie, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, and made head against the enemie.

Horatius Cocles why so called.

This Horatius was surnamed Cocles (as much to saye, as one eye) bicause he had lost one of them in the warres. Howbeit other writers saye, it was bicause of his flat nose which was so soncke into his head, that they sawe nothing to parte his eyes, but that the eye browes dyd meete together: by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him Cyclops, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they saye) Cocles. But howsoever it was, this Horatius Cocles had the courage to shew his face against the enemie, and to kepe the bridge, untill such time as they had cut and broken it up behind him. When he saw they had done that, armed as he was, and hurte in the hippe with a vike of the Thuscans, he leaped into the river of Tyber, and saved him selfe by swimming unto the other side. Publicola woundring at this manly acte of his, persuaded the Romaines straight, every one according to his abilitie, to give him so much as he

Good service rewarded.

spent in a daye: and afterwards also he caused the common treasury to geve him as much lande as he could compasse about with his plowe in a daye. Furthermore he made his image of brasse to be set up in the temple of Vulcane, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame ever after. Nowe whilest king Porsena was hottely bent, very straightly to besiege Rome, there beganne a famine among the Romaines: and to encrease the daunger, there came a newe armie out of Thuscane, which overrane, burnt, and made waste, all the territorie of Rome. Where-

Publicola Consul.

upon Publicola being chosen Consul, then the third time, thought he should neede to doe no more to resist Porsena bravely, but to be quiet only, and to looke well to the safe keeping of the cittie. Howbeit spying his oportunity, he secretly stole out of Rome with a power, and did set upon

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the Thuscans that destroyed the countrie about: and overthrew and slue of them, five thousand men. As for the historie of Mutius, many doe diversely reporte it: but I will write it in such sorte, as I thincke shall best agree with the trothe. This Mutius was a worthie man in all respects, but specially for the warres. He devising howe he might come to kill king Porsena, disguised him selfe in Thuscans apparell, and speaking Thuscan very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kings chayer, in the which he gave audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durst not aske which was he, least he should be discovered, but drue his sworde at adventure, and slewe him whom he tooke to be King. Upon that they layed holde on him, and examined him. And a panne full of fire being brought for the King that entended to doe sacrifice unto the goddes, Mutius held out his right hand over the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whilest the flesh of his hand dyd frye of, he never chaunged hewe nor contenaunce: the King woundering to see so straunge a sight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he him selfe dyd deliver him his sworde againe. Mutius tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they saye afterwardes, he had geven him the surname of Scævola, as much to saye, as left handed, and told him in taking of it: Thou couldest not Porsena for feare have overcomed me, but nowe through curtesy thou hast wonne me. Therefore for goodwill I will reveale that unto thee, which no force, nor extremitie could have made me utter. There are three hundred Romaines dispersed through thy campe, all which are prepared with like mindes to followe that I have begonne, only gaping for oportunitie to put it in practise. The lot fell on me to be the first to breake the Ise of this enterprise: and yet I am not sorie my hande fayled, to kill so worthie a man, that deserveth rather to be a friend, then an enemie unto the Romaines. Porsena hearing this, did beleeve it, and ever after he gave the more willing eare to those that treated with him of peace: not so much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in waite to kill him, as for the admiration of the Romaines noble minde and great corage. All other writers

The noble acte of Mutius Scevola.

How Mutius came by the name of Scevola.

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PUBLICOLA call this man, Mutius Scævola: howbeit Athenodorus, surnamed Sandon, in a booke he wrote unto Octavia, Augustus sister, sayeth that he was also called Opsigonus. But Publicola taking king Porsena not to be so daungerous an enemie to Rome, as he should be a profitable friend and allie to the same: let him understand, that he was contented to make him judge of the controversie betweene them and Tarquine. Whom he dyd many times provoke to come and have his cause heard before king Porsena, where he would justifie to his face, that he was the naughtiest and most wicked man of the world, and that he was justly driven out of his countrie. Tarquine sharpely aunswered, that he would make no man his judge, and Porsena least of all other, for that having promised him to put him againe in his Kingdom, he was nowe gone from his worde, and had chaunged his minde. Porsena was very angrie with this aunswer, judging this a manifest token that his cause was ill. Wherefore Porsena being solicited againe by his owne sonne Aruns, who loved the Romaines, dyd easily graunte them peace upon condition: that they should redeliver backe againe to him the lands they had gotten before within the countrie of Thuscan, with the prisoners also which they had taken in this warre, and in liew thereof he offered to deliver to them againe the Romaines, that had fled from them unto him. To confirme this peace, the Romaines delivered him ostages, tenne of the noblest mens sonnes of the cittie, and so many of their daughters: emong which, was Valeria, Publicolaes owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, Porsena brake his armie, and withdrewe his strength, trusting to the peace concluded. The Romaines daughters delivered for ostages, came downe to the rivers side to washe them, in a quiet place where the streame ranne but gently, without any force or swiftnes at all. When they were there, and saw they had no garde about them, nor any came that waye, nor yet any botes going up nor down the streame: they had a desire to swime over the river, which ranne with a swift streame, and was marvelous deepe. Some saye, that one Clælia swamme the river upon her horse backe, and that she did imbolden and incorage the other to swimme

Publicola maketh Porsena judge, betwext them and the Tarquines.

Peace graunted the Romaines by Porsena.

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harde by her horse side: and recovering the other bancke, and being past all daunger, they went and presented them selves before Publicola the Consul. Who neither commended them, nor liked the parte they had played, but was marvelous sorie, fearing least men would judge him lesse carefull to keepe his faith, then was king Porsena: and that he might suspect the boldnes of these maidens, was but a crafty slight devised of the Romaines. Therefore he tooke them all againe, and sent them immediatly unto king Porsena. Whereof Tarquine having intelligence, he layed an ambushe for them, that had the conduction of them. Who so soone as they were paste the river, did shew them selves, and brake upon the Romaines: they being farre fewer in number than the other, did yet very stowtely defend them selves. Now whilest they were in earnest fight together, Valeria Publicolaes daughter, and three of her fathers servants, escaped through the middest of them, and saved them selves. The residue of the virgines remained in the middest among their swordes, in great daunger of their lives. Aruns king Porsenas sonne advertised hereof, ranne thither incontinently to the rescue: but when he came, the enemies fled, and the Romaines held on their jorney to redeliver their ostages. Porsena seeing them againe, asked which of them it was that beganne first to passe the river, and had encouraged the other to followe her. One pointed him unto her, and told him her name was Clælia. He looked upon her very earnestly, and with a pleasaunt countenaunce, and commaunded they should bring him one of his best horse in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gave it unto her. Those which holde opinion that none but Clælia passed the river a horse backe, doe alledge this to prove their opinion true. Other doe denie it, saying that this Thuscan king, did onely honour her noble courage. Howsoever it was, they see her image a horse backe in the holy streete, as they goe to the palace: and some saye it is the statue of Valeria, other of Clælia. After Porsena had made peace with the Romaines, in breaking up his campe, he shewed his noble minde unto them in many other things, and specially in that he commaunded his souldiers they should carie nothing but

PUBLICOLA

The boldenes of Clælia and other Romaine virgines.

The liberalitie of king Porsena to the Romaines.

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their armour and weapon only, leaving his campe full of corne, vittells, and other kynde of goodes. From whence this custome came, that at this daye when they make open sale of any thing belonging to the common weale, the sergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king Porsenas goodes, and taken of thankefullnes and perpetuall memorie of his bowntie and liberalitie towards them. Further, Porsenas image standeth adjoyning to the palace where the Senate is used to be kept, which is made of great antike worke. Afterwardes the Sabynes invading the Romaines territorie with a great force, Marcus Valerius Publicolaes brother, was then chosen Consul, with one Posthumius Tubertus. Howbeit all matters of weight and importaunce passed by Publicolaes counsell and authoritie, who was present at any thing that was done: and by whose meanes Marcus his brother, wanne two great battells, in the last whereof he slewe thirteene thousand of his enemies, not losing one of his owne men. For which his victories, besides the honour of triumphe he had, the people also at their owne charges, built him a house, in the streete of mounte Palatine, and graunted him moreover that his doore should open outwards into the streete, where all others mens doores dyd open inwards into their house: signifying by graunte of this honour and priviledge, that he should allwayes have benefit by the common weale. It is reported that the Grecians doores of their houses in olde time, dyd all open outwards after that facion, and they doe conjecture it by the comedies that are played. Where those that would goe out of their houses, dyd first knocke at their doores, and make a noyse within the house, least in opening their doore upon a sodaine, they might overthrowe or hurte him that taried at the streete doore, or passed by the waye: who hearing the noyse, had warning straight to avoyde the daunger. The next yere after that, Publicola was chosen Consul the fourth time, bicause they stoode in great doubt that the Sabynes and Latines would joyne together to make warres upon them: besides all this, there was a certaine superstitious feare ranne through the cittie, of some ill happe toward it, bicause most parte of the women with

Marcus Valerius, Posthumius Tubertus Consuls.

Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, triumpheth of the Sabynes.

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childe were delivered of unperfect children, lacking some one limme or other, and all of them came before their time. Wherfore Publicola looking in some of Sybillaes books, made private sacrifice unto Pluto, and did set up againe some feastes and solemne games that were left of, and had bene commaunded before time to be kept by the oracle of Apollo. These meanes having a litle rejoyced the cittie with good hope, bicause they thought that the anger of the goddes had bene appeased: Publicola then beganne to provide for the daungers that they were threatned withall by men, for that newes was brought him that their enemies were up in all places, and made great preparation to invade them. Nowe there was at that time amongest the Sabynes, a great riche man called Appius Clausus, very strong and active of bodie, and otherwise a man of great reputation and eloquence, above all the rest of his countrie men: but notwithstanding, he was much envied, and could not avoyde it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to staye those intended warres against the Romaines. Whereupon, many which before tooke occasion to murmure against him, dyd nowe much more increase the same: with saying he sought to mainteine the power of the Romaines, that afterwards by their ayde he might make him selfe tyranne and King of the countrie. The common people gave easy eare unto such speaches, and Appius perceyving well enough how the souldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complaine, and accuse him. Wherefore being well backed and stoode to by his kynsemen, friends, and followers, he practised to make a sturre among the Sabynes, which was the cause of staying the warres against the Romaines. Publicola, also for his parte was very diligent, not only to understand the originall cause of his sedition, but to feede on further and increase the same, having gotten men meete for the purpose, which caried Appius such a message from him. That Publicola knewe very well he was a just man, and one that would not be revenged of his cittizens, to the generall hurte of his countrie, although the injuries he receyved at their hands, delivered him just occasion to doe it: nevertheles if he had any desire to provide PUBLICOLA

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PUBLICOLA for his safety and to repaire to Rome, leaving them which causeles wished him so muche evill, they would both openly and privately receyve him with that due honour which his vertue deserved and the worthines of the Romaine people required. Clausus having long and many times considered this matter with him selfe, resolved that it was the best waye he could take, making vertue of necessitie: and therefore being determined to doe it, he dyd procure his friends to doe as he dyd, and they got other also unto them, so that he brought awaye with him out of the countrie of the Sabynes, five thousand families with their wives and children (of the quietest and most peacible people among the Sabynes) to dwel at Rome. Publicola being advertised thereof before they came, dyd receyve them at their comming to Rome with great joye, and all manner of good curteous enterteinment. For at their first coming, he made them all and their families free cittizens, and assigned unto every persone of them two jugera of lande, (which conteined one acre, one roode, eleven pole, and 69 partes of a pole) by the river of Tyber: and unto Appius self he gave 25 jugera (to wit, 16 acres and a halfe, 4 pole and 76 partes of a pole) and received him into the number of the Senatours. And thus came he first unto the government of the common weale in Rome, where he did so wisely behave him self, that in the end he came to be the chiefest man of dignitie and authoritie in Rome, so long as he lived. After his death, he left behind him the familie of the Claudians, descending from him: which for honour, and worthines, gave no place to the noblest familie in Rome. But nowe the sedition amongest the Sabynes being pacified, by the departure of those that were gone to Rome: the seditious governours would not suffer those that remained to live in peace, but still cried out, it were to much shame for them, that Clausus being a fugitive, and become an enemie, should honour their enemies abroade, that being present durst not shewe so much at home, and that the Romaines should scape unrevenged, who had done them such apparant wronges. So they raised great force and power, and went and encamped with their armie neere the cittie of Fidenes, and layed an ambushe harde by Rome, in

Appius Clausus goeth to dwel at Rome.

The familie of the Claudians.

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certen hidden and hollowe places, where they put a two thousand choyce footemen, very well armed, and dyd appoint the next morning to send certaine light horse men to runne and praye to Rome gates: commaunding them, that when the Romaines came out of the cittie to charge them, they should seeme leysurely to retire, untill they had drawen them within daunger of their ambush. Publicola receyving full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them unto him, made due preparation to encounter with their privie ambushe, and so devided his armie in two partes: for he gave his sonne in lawe Posthumius Balbus, three thousand footemen, whom he sent awaye by night, commaunding them the same night to take the hilles, in the bottome whereof the Sabynes were layed in ambushe. Lucretius, fellowe Consull with Publicola, having the lightest and lustiest men of the cittie, was appointed to make head against the vauntcurriers of the Sabynes, that minded to approche the gates. And Publicola with the rest of the armie, marched a great compasse about to inclose his enemies behinde. The next morning betimes, by chaunce it was a thick miste, and at that present time Posthumius coming down from the hilles, with great showtes, charged them that laye in ambush. Lucretius on the other side, set upon the light horsemen of the Sabynes: and Publicola fell upon their campe. So that of all sides the Sabynes enterprise had very ill successe, for they had the worst in every place, and the Romaines killed them flying, without any turning againe to make resistance. Thus the place which gave them hope of best safety, turned most to their deadly overthrowe. For every one of their companies supposing the other had bene whole and unbroken, when a charge was geven upon them, dyd straight breake, and never a company of them turned head toward their enemie. For they that were in the campe, ranne toward them which laye in ambushe: and those which were in ambushe on the contrarie side, ranne towards them that were in campe. So that in flying, the one met with the other, and founde those, towards whom they were flying to have bene safe, to stand in as much neede of helpe as them selves. That which saved some that were not slaine, was the cittie of Fidenes, which was

PUBLICOLA

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neere the campe, and specially saved those which fled thither. But such as came shorte of the cittie, and could not in time recover it, were all slaine in the fielde, or taken prisoners. As for the glorie of this honorable victorie, albeit the Romaines were wonte to ascribe all suche great notable matters to the speciall providence and grace of the goddes, yet at that time notwithstanding they dyd judge, that this happy successe fell out by the wise foresight and valliantnes of the captaine. For every man that had served in this jorney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that Publicola had delivered their enemies into their handes, lame, and blinde, and as a man might saye, bounde hande and feete to kill them at their pleasure. The people were marvelously enriched by this victorie, aswell for the spoile, as for the ransome of the prisoners that they had gotten. Nowe Publicola after he had triumphed, and left the government of the cittie to those, which were chosen Consuls for the yere following: dyed incontinently, having lived as honorably and vertuously all the dayes of his life, as any man living might doe. The people then tooke order for his funeralles, that the charges thereof should be defrayed by the cittie, as if they had never done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene still debters unto him for the noble service he had done unto the state and common weale whilest he lived. Therefore towardes his funeralle charges, every cittizen gave a pece of money called a Quatrine. The women also for their parte, to honour his funeralles, agreed among them selves to mourne a whole yere in blackes for him, which was a great and honorable memoriall. He was buried also by expresse order of the people, within the cittie, in the streate called Velia: and they graunted priviledge also unto all his posteritie, to be buried in the selfe same place. Howbeit they doe no more burie any of his there. But when any dye, they bring the corse unto this place, and one holding a torche burning in his hande, doth put it under the place, and take it straight awaye againe, to shewe that they have libertie to burie him there, but that they willingly refuse this honour: and this done, they carie the corse awaye againe.

The Sabynes slaine.

The death of Publicola.

His funeralles.

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THE COMPARISON OF SOLON WITH PUBLICOLA

NOWE presently to compare these two personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not founde in any other of their lives which we have written of before. And the same is, that the one hath bene a witnes, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the sentence that Solon spake to king Crœsus, touching Tellus felicitie and happines, might have better bene applied unto Publicola, than to Tellus: whom he judged to be very happy, bicause he dyed honorably, he had lived vertuously, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet Solon speaketh nothing of his excellencie, or vertue, in any of his poemes: neither dyd he ever beare any honorable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowme after his death. Whereas Publicola so long as he lived, was allwayes the chiefe man amongest the Romaines, of credit and authoritie: and afterwards since his death, certaine of the noblest families, and most auncient houses of Rome, in these our dayes, as the Publicoles, the Messales, and the Valerians, for six hundred yeres continuance, doe referre the glorie of the nobilitie and auncientie of their house unto him. Furthermore, Tellus was slaine by his enemies, fighting valliantly like a worthy honest man. But Publicola died after he had slaine his enemies: which is farre more great good happe, then to be slaine. For after he as generall had honorably served his country in the warres, and had left them conquerers, having in his life time receyved all honours and triumphes due unto his service: he attained to that happy end of life, which Solon accompted and esteemed, most happy and blessed. Also in wishing manner, he would his end should be lamented to his prayse,

Publicola happie.

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in a place where he confuteth Mimnermus, about the continuaunce of mans life, by saying:

Let not my death without lamenting passe,
but rather let my friendes bewayle the same:
Whose grievous teares, and cries of out alas,
maye ofte resound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good happe, then most happy maketh he Publicola: for at his death, not only his friends and kinsefolkes, but the whole cittie also, and many a thousand persone besides, dyd bitterly bewayle the losse of him. For all the women of Rome dyd mourne for him in blacks, and dyd most pittiefully lament his death, as every one of them had lost either father, brother, or husband.

True it is, that I covet goodes to have:
but yet so got, as maye me not deprave.

Solon sayeth this, bicause vengeance followed ill gotten good. And Publicola tooke great heede, not only to get his goodes most justly, but had regarde that those which he had, he spent most honestly in helping the needie. So that if Solon was justly reputed the wisest man, we must needes confesse also that Publicola was the happiest. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good, a man can have in this worlde: the other hath wonne it, kept it, and used it all his life time, untill the hower of his death. And thus hath Solon honoured Publicola, and Publicola hath done like unto Solon, shewing him self a perfect example and looking glasse, where men maye see howe to governe a popular state: when he made his Consulshippe voyde of all pride and stately shewe, and became him self affable, curteous, and beloved of everie bodie. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes. As when he ordeined, that the people only should have authoritie to choose and create, all common officers and magistrates, and that they might appeale from any judge to the people: as Solon when he suffered them to appeale unto the judges of the people. In deede Publicola dyd not create any newe Senate, as Solon dyd: but he dyd augment the first number, with as many persones almost as there were before. He dyd also

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first erect the office of *Quæstores*, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Bicause the chiefest magistrate, if he were an honest man, should not for so light an occasion be taken, from the care of better and more weightie affayers: and if he were wickedly geven and ill disposed, that he should have no such meane or occasion to worke his wicked will, by having the treasure of the cittie in his handes, and to commaund what he lyst. Moreover in hating the tyrannes, Publicola therein was farre more sharpe and terrible. For Solon in his lawes punished him that went about to make him selfe tyranne, yet after he was convicted thereof by lawe: but Publicola ordeined that they should kill him, before the lawe dyd passe on him, that sought to be King. And where Solon justly, and truely vaunteth him self, that being offered to be King and Lord of Athens, and that with the whole consent of the cittizens: yet he dyd notwithstanding refuse it. This vaunte and glorie is as due unto Publicola: who finding the dignitie of a Consul tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and favorable for the people, not taking upon him all the authoritie he might lawfully have done. And it seemeth that Solon knewe before him, what was the true and direct waye to governe a common weale uprightly. For he sayeth in one place:

Publicola erected the office of *Quæstores*.

> Both great and small of power, the better will obaye:
> if we to litle or to much, upon them doe not laye.

The discharging of dettes was proper to Solon, which was a full confirmation of libertie. For litle prevayleth lawe to make equalitie among cittizens, when dettes doe hinder the poore people to enjoye the benefit thereof. And where it seemeth that they have most libertie, as in that they maye be chosen judges and officers to speake their opinion in the counsell, and geve their voyces also: there in deede are they most bounde and subject, bicause they doe but obaye the rich, in all they doe commaund. But yet in this acte there is a thinge more wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly discharging of dettes, was wont to breede great tumultes, and seditions in common weales. And Solon

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SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

having used it in a very good time (as the phisitian ventring a daungerous medecine) dyd appease the sedition already begonne, and did utterly quenche through his glorie, and the common opinion they had of his wisdome and vertue, all the infamie and accusation that might have growen of that acte. As for their first entrie into the government, Solons beginning was farre more noble. For he went before, and followed not another: and him selfe alone without any others helpe, dyd put in execution the best, and more parte of all his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was Publicolaes ende and death much more glorious and happie. For Solon before he dyed, sawe all his comon wealthe overthrowen: but Publicolaes common weale continued whole as he left it, untill the broyle of civill warres beganne againe among them. Solon, after he had made his lawes, and written them in wodden tables, leaving them without defence of any man, went his waye immediatly out of the cittie of Athens. Publicola abiding continually in Rome governing the state, dyd throughly stablishe and confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore Solon having wisely forseene Pisistratus practises, aspiring to make him selfe King: he could never let him for all that, but was him selfe overcome and oppressed with the tyrannie he sawe stablished in his owne sight, and in dispight of him. Where Publicola overthrewe and dyd put downe a mightie Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was throughly stablished: his vertue and desire being equall with Solons, and having had besides fortune favorable, and sufficient power to execute, his vertuous and well disposed minde. But as for warres and marshall deedes, there is no comparison to be made betweene them. For Daimachus Platæian, doth not attribute the warres of the Megarians unto Solon, as we have written it: where Publicola being generall of an armie, and fighting him selfe in persone, hath wonne many great battells. And as for matters of peace and civill government, Solon never durst present him self openly to persuade the enterprise of Salamina, but under a counterfeat madnes, and as a foole to make sporte. Where Publicola taking his adventure from the beginning, shewed him selfe without dissimulation, an

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open enemie to Tarquine, and afterwardes he revealed the whole conspiracie. And when he had bene the only cause and autor of punishing the traitours, he dyd not only drive out of Rome the tyrannes selves in persone, but tooke from them also all hope of returne againe. Who having allwayes thus nobly and valliantly behaved him self, without shrinking backe, or flying from ought that required force, a manly corage, or open resistaunce: dyd yet shewe him selfe discreete, where wisedome was requisite, or reason and persuasion needefull. As when he conningly wanne king Porsena, who was a dredfull enemie unto him, and invincible by force: whom he handled in such good sorte, that he made him his friend. Peradventure some might stand in this and saye: that Solon recovered the Ile of Salamina unto the Athenians, which they would have lost. Publicola to the contrarie, restored the lands unto Porsena againe, which the Romaines had conquered before, within the countrie of Thuscan. But the times in which these things were done, are allwayes to be considered of. For a wise governour of a Realme, and politicke man, doth governe diversely according to the occasions offred, taking every thing in his time wherein he will deale. And many times, in letting goe one thing, he saveth the whole: and in losing a litle, he gayneth much. As Publicola dyd: who losing a litle pece of another mans countrie which they had usurped, saved by that meanes all that was assuredly his owne. And whereas the Romaines thought he should doe very much for them, to save their cittie only: he got them moreover, all the goodes that were in their enemies campe, which dyd besiege them. And in making his enemie judge of his quarrell, he wanne the victorie: winning that moreover, which he would gladly have geven to have overcome, and have sentence passe of his side. For the King their enemie dyd not only make peace with them, but dyd also leave them all his furniture, provision, and munition for the warres: even for the vertue, manhood, and justice, which the great wisedome of this Consul persuaded Porsena to beleeve to be, in all the other Romaines.

A politicke precept.

THE ENDE OF PUBLICOLAES LIFE

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THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES

THEMISTOCLES parentage dyd litle advaunce his glorie: for his father Neocles was of small reputation in Athens, being of the hundred of Phrear, and tribe of Leontis: of his mother an allien or straunger: as these verses doe witnesse,

Abrotonon I am, yborne in Thracia,
and yet this highe good happe I have, that into Grecia
I have brought forth a sonne, Themistocles by name,
the glorie of the Greekishe bloods, and man of greatest fame.

Howbeit Phanias writeth, that his mother was not a Thracian, but borne in the countrie of Caria: and they doe not call her Abrotonon, but Euterpé. And Neanthes sayeth furthermore, that she was of Halicarnassus, the chiefest cittie of all the Realme of Caria. For which cause when the straungers dyd assemble at Cynosargos (a place of exercise without the gate dedicated to Hercules, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) Themistocles persuaded divers youthes of the most honourable houses, to goe down with him, and to annointe them selves at Cynosargos, conningly thereby taking away the difference betwene the right and alien sorte. But setting a parte all these circumstaunces, he was no doubt allied unto the house of the Lycomedians: for Themistocles caused the chappell of this familie, which is in the village of Phlyes, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be buylt up againe at his owne charges: and as Simonides sayeth, he dyd set it forth and enriche it with pictures. Moreover every man doth confesse it, that even from his childhood they dyd perceyve he was geven to be very whotte headed, sturring, wise, and of good spirite, and enterprising of him selfe to doe great things, and borne to rule weighty causes. For at

Cynosargos, a place of exercise dedicated to Hercules.

Themistocles towardnes.

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such dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leave to playe, he never played, nor would never be idle, as other children were: but they allwayes founde him conning some oration without booke, or making it alone by him selfe, and the ground of his matter was ever comonly, either to defend, or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his schoolemaster observing him, ofte sayed unto him: Suer some great matter hangeth over thy head my boye, for it cannot be chosen but that one daye thou shalt doe some notable good thing, or some extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teache him any thing, only to checke his nature, or to facion him with good manner and civilitie, or to studie any matter for pleasure or honest pastime: he would slowly and carelesly learne of them. But if they delivered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state: they sawe he would beate at it marvelously, and would understande more then any could of his age and cariage, trusting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cause, that being mocked afterwardes by some that had studied humanitie, and other liberall sciences, he was driven for revenge and his owne defence, to aunswer with great and stowte wordes, saying, that in deede he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to playe of a psalterion: but if they dyd put a cittie into his handes that was of small name, weake, and litle, he knewe wayes enough how to make it noble, stronge, and great. Nevertheles, Stesimbrotus writeth, how he went to Anaxagoras schoole, and that under Melissus he studied naturall philosophie. But herein he was greatly deceaved, for that he tooke no great hede unto the time. For Melissus was captaine of the Samians against Pericles, at what time he dyd laye seige unto the cittie of Samos. Now this is true, Pericles was much younger then Themistocles, and Anaxagoras dwelt with Pericles in his owne house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion to beleeve those that write, Themistocles dyd determine to followe Mnesiphilus Phrearian. For he was no professed Orator, nor naturall philosopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profession of that which then they called wisedome.

THEMISTOCLES

Themistocles was Anaxagoras and Melissus scholler.

Mnesiphilus Phrearian.

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THEMISTOCLES

What wisedome was in olde time.

Which was no other thing, but a certen knowledge to handle great causes, and an indevour to have a good wit and judgment in matters of state and government: which profession beginning in Solon, dyd continue, and was taken up from man to man, as a secte of philosophie. But those that came sithence, have mingled it with arte of speache, and by litle and litle have translated the exercise of deedes, unto bare and curious wordes: whereupon they were called *Sophisters*, as who would saye, counterfeate wise men. Notwithstanding, when Themistocles beganne to medle with the government of the common weale, he followed much Mnesiphilus. In the first parte of his youth, his behaviour and doings were very light and unconstant, as one caried awaye with a rashe head, and without any order or discretion: by reason whereof his manners and conditions seemed marvelously to chaunge, and oftimes fell into very ill favored events, as him self dyd afterwards confesse by saying: that a ragged colte oftimes proves a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As that his father dyd disinherite him, and that his mother for very care and sorowe she tooke to see the lewde life of her sonne, dyd kill her self. For there are that write to the contrary, that his father being desirous to take him from dealing in government, dyd goe and shewe him all alongest the sea shore, the shippewracks and ribbes of olde gallyes cast here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and sayed to him: Thus the people use their governours, when they can serve no lenger. Howsoever it was, it is most true that Themistocles earnestly gave him self to state, and was sodainely taken with desire of glorie. For even at his first entrie, bicause he would set foote before the prowdest, he stoode at pyke against the greatest and mightiest persones, that bare the swaye and government, and specially against Aristides, Lysimachus sonne, who ever encountered him, and was still his adversarie opposite. Yet it seemeth the evil will he conceyved toward him, came of a very ight cause. For they both loved Stesilaus, that was borne in the cittie of Teos, as Ariston the philosopher writeth. And after this jealousie was kindled

Howe the name of *Sophisters* came up.

Themistocles youthe.

The privie grudge betwext Themistocles and Aristides.

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betweene them, they allwayes tooke contrary parte one against another, not only in their private likings, but also in the government of the common weale. Yet I am persuaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions, did much encrease the grudge and discorde betwext them. For Aristides being by nature a very good man, a just dealer, and honest of life, and one that in all his doings would never flatter the people, nor serve his owne glorie, but rather to the contrary would doe, would saye, and counsaill allwayes for the most benefit and commoditie of the common weale: was oftetimes enforced to resist Themistocles, and disapoint his ambition, being ever busilie moving the people, to take some new matter in hande. For they reporte of him, that he was so inflamed with desire of glorie, and to enterprise great matters, that being but a very yoong man at the battell of Marathon, where there was no talke but of the worthines of captaine Miltiades that had wonne the battell: he was found many times solitarilie there alone devising with him self: besides, they saye he could then take no rest in the night, neither would goe to playes in the daye time, nor would keepe companie with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that woundred to see him so in his muses, and chaunged, and asked him what he ayled: that Miltiades victorie would not let him sleepe, bicause other thought this overthrow at Marathon, would have made an end of all warres. Howbeit Themistocles was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daylie studied howe to prevent them, and how to see to the safetie of Greece, and before occasion offered, he did exercise his cittie in feats of warre, foreseeing what should followe after. Wherefore, where the cittizens of Athens before dyd use to devide among them selves the revenue of their mines of silver, which were in a parte of Attica called Laurion: he alone was the first that durst speake to the people, and persuade them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among them selves, and employe the money of the same in making of gallyes, to make warres against the Æginetes. For their warres of all Greece were most cruell,

THEMISTOCLES

Aristides a just man.

Themistocles ambition.

Themistocles persuaded his contriemen to make gallyes.

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THEMISTOCLES

bicause they were lords of the sea, and had so great a number of shippes. This persuasion drue the cittizens more easely to Themistocles minde, than the threatning them with king Darius, or the Persians would have done: who were farre from them, and not feared that they would come neere unto them. So this oportunitie taken of the hatred and jealousie betwene the Athenians and the Æginetes, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an hundred gallyes, with which they fought against king Xerxes, and did overcome him by sea. Now after this good beginning and successe, he wanne the cittizens by degrees to bende their force to sea, declaring unto them, howe by lande they were scant able to make heade against their equalles, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defende them selves from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to commaund all Grece. Hereupon he made them good mariners, and passing sea men, as Plato sayeth, where before they were stowte and valliant souldiers by lande. This gave his enemies occasion to cast it in his teethe afterwards, that he had taken away from the Athenians the pike and the target, and had brought them to the banke and the ower: and so he got the upper hand of Miltiades. Who inveyed against him in that, as Stesimbrotus writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this sea service to passe, whether thereby he dyd overthrow the justice of the comon weale or not, I leave that to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preservation of all Grece stoode at that time upon the sea, and that the gallyes only were the cause of setting up Athens againe: Xerxes him self is a sufficient witnes, besides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his armie by lande being yet whole, and unset on, when he saw his armie by sea broken, dispersed, and souncke, he fled straight upon it, confessing as it were that he was nowe to weake to deale any more with the Greecians, and left Mardonius his lieutenant in Greece, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the Greecians should not followe him, then for any hope he had to overcome them. Some write of Themistocles, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, and carefull to looke to his things: for he dyd spende liberally,

The Athenians bent their force to sea, by Themistocles persuasion.

Themistocles a good husband to looke for his profit.

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and loved ofte to make sacrifices, and honorably to receyve and entertaine straungers: wherefore he had good reason to be carefull to get, to defraye his charges. Other to the contrary, blame him much, that he was to nere, and miserable: for some saye, he would sell presents of meate that were geven him. He dyd aske one Philides on a time, which had a brede of mares, a colte of gifte: who denying him flatly, he was so angrie, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wodde, with the which Troia was taken. Meaning covertly to let him understande, that he would shortly set strife and quarrel betwext him, and his nearest kinsemen and familliar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a young man, and scantly knowen, he earnestly intreated one Epicles, borne at Hermionna, an excellent player of the citherne, and counted at that time the conningest man in all Athens at that instrument, that he would come and teache his arte at his house: and all was no more, but that many people being desirous to heare him playe, should aske for his house, and come thither to him. And one yere when he went unto the feast and assembly of the playes Olympicall, he would nedes keepe open house for all commers, have his tents richely furnished, and a great traine of servants and all other furniture, only to contende with Cimon. This marvelously spighted the Greecians, who thought Themistocles expences fit for Cimons countenance, and abilitie, bicause he was a young gentleman, and of a noble house: but for him that was but a newe come man, and would beare a greater porte, then either became his calling or abilitie, they thought it not only unallowable in him, but meere presumption and vaine glorie. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedie which was played openly: and being set out therein to have wonne the prise, and the Athenians being marvelous desirous of the honour in such playes, he caused this victorie of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate and set up in a temple, with this inscription: 'Themistocles Phrearian 'defrayed the charges: Phrynicus made it: Adimantus was 'chief ruler.' Yet notwithstanding he was well taken of the

THEMISTOCLES

Themistocles extremely ambitious.

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THEMISTOCLES

common people, partly bicause he would speake to every cittizen by his name, no man telling him their names: and partly also bicause he shewed him self an upright judge in private mens causes. As one daye he aunswered the poet Simonides, borne in Chio, who dyd request an unreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was governour of the cittie: Thou couldest be no good poet, Simonides, if thou diddest singe against the rules of musike: neither my self a good governour of a citie, if I should doe any thing against the lawe. And mocking the same Simonides another time, he told him he was but a foole to speake ill of the Corinthians, considering they were lords of so great and strong a cittie. Likewise he was not wise to make him self to be drawen, being so deformed and ill favored. But being growne in credit, and having wonne the favour of the people, he was such an enemy to Aristides, that in the end he made him to be expulsed and banished Athens, for 5 yeres. When newes were brought that the king of Persia was onwardes on his jorney and coming downe to make warres upon the Greecians: the Athenians consulted whom they should make their generall. And it is reported, that all their common counsellers which were wont to speake in matters, fearing the daunger, dyd drawe backe, save an orator called Epicydes, Euphemides sonne, very eloquent in speache, but somwhat womanishe, fainte harted, and gredie of money, offred him self to sue for this charge, and had some hope to obteine it. Wherefore Themistocles fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this man to be generall of the armie, he bought out Epicydes ambition with ready money, and so made him let fall his sute. It fell out Themistocles was greatly comended, about that was done to the interpreter, that came with the king of Persiaes ambassadours, and demaunded the empire of the Greecians both by sea and lande, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken, and put to death by a comon consent, for using the Greeke tongue in the service and commaundement of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion, Arthmius born at Zelea, was noted of infamie, both he, his children, and all his posteritie after him, bicause

A wise saying of Themistocles.

Themistocles made Aristides to be banished.

Epicydes an orator sued to be generall.

Arthmius defamed for bribing.

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he brought gold from the king of Persia, to corrupt and winne the Greecians. But the greatest and worthiest acte he did in those parts, was this: that he pacified all civill warres among the Greecians, persuading the cities to leave of their quarrels untill the warres were done, in the which they saye Chileus Arcadian did helpe him more then any other man. He being now chosen generall of the Athenians, went about presently to imbarke his cittizens into gallyes, declaring to them they should leave their cittie, and goe mete with the barbarous King by sea, so farre from the coast of Greece as they could: but the people did not thincke that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of souldiers by lande, into the countrie of Tempes with the Lacedæmonians, to keepe the passage and entrie into Thessalie, against the barbarous people, which countrie stoode yet sownde to Greece, and not revolted to the Medes. Afterwards the Grecians coming from thence without any acte done, and the Thessalians also being wonne somewhat on the Kings side, for that all the whole country unto Bœotia was at the devotion and goodwill of the barbarous people: then the Athenians beganne to finde, howe Themistocles opinion to fight by sea was very good. Wherupon they sent him with their navie to the cittie of Artemisium, to kepe the straight. There the other Grecians would have had the Lacedæmonians and their admirall Eurybiades to have had the authoritie and commaundement of the rest. But the Athenians would not set sayle under any other admirall then their own, bicause theirs were the greatest number of shippes in the armie, and above all the other Grecians. Themistocles foreseing the daunger that was likely to fall out amongest them selves, dyd willingly yelde the whole authoritie unto Eurybiades, and got the Athenians to agree unto it: assuring them, that if they behaved them selves valliantly in these warres, the other Greecians of their own accorde would afterwards submit them selves unto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the originall cause of the saving of Greece, and dyd most advaunce the honour and glorie of the Athenians, by making them to overcome their enemies

THEMISTOCLES

Themistocles generall of the Athenians against Xerxes.

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THEMISTOCLES

by force, and their friends and allies with liberalitie. In the meane time, Eurybiades seing the barbarous flete riding at anker, all alongest the Ile of Aphetes, with such a great number of shippes in the vaward, he beganne to be affrayed. And understanding moreover, there were other 200 sayle that went to cast about the Ile of Sciathe, and so to come in: he presently would have retired further into Greece, and would have drawen neerer unto Peloponnesus, to the end their army by sea might be neare their army by lande, as thinking it unpossible to fight with king Xerxes power by sea. Whereupon the inhabitants of the Ile of Eubœa, fearing least the Grecians would to the spoyle of the enemy, they caused Themistocles secretly to be spoken with all, and sent him a good somme of money by one called Pelagon. Themistocles tooke the money, as Herodotus writeth, and gave it to Eurybiades. But there was one Architeles amongest the Athenians, captaine of the galley called the holy galley, that was much against Themistocles intended purpose: who having no money to paye his mariners, dyd what he could that they might departe with speede from thence. Themistocles sturred up then his souldiers more against him then before, insomuch as they went aborde his galley, and tooke his supper from him. Architeles being marvelous angrie and offended withall, Themistocles sent him both bread and meat in a pannier, and in the bottome thereof he had put a talent of silver, bidding him for that night to suppe with that, and the next morning he should provide for his mariners, or els he would complaine, and accuse him to the cittizens that he had taken money of the enemies. Thus it is written by Phanias Lesbian. Moreover these first fights in the straite of Eubœa, betweene the Greecians, and the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the warres betwene them. For it was but a taste geven unto them, which served the Greecians turne very much, by making them to see by experience, and the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of shippes, nor the pompe and sumptuous setting out of the same, nor the prowde barbarous showts and songes of victorie that could stande them to purpose, against noble harts and

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valliant minded souldiers, that durst grapple with them, and come to hands strokes with their enemies: and that they should make no reckoning of all that bravery and bragges, but should sticke to it like men, and laye it on the jacks of them. The which (as it seemeth) the poet Pindarus understoode very well, when he sayed touching the battell of Artemisium: THEMISTOCLES

> The stowte Athenians, have nowe foundation layed,
> unto the libertie of Greece, by thes assaults assayed.

For out of doubt the beginning of victorie, is to be hardie. This place Artemisium is a parte of the Ile of Eubœa, looking towards the North, above the cittie of Estiæa, lying directly over against the country which somtimes was under the obedience of the Philoctetes, and specially of the cittie of Olizon. There is a litle temple of Diana, surnamed Orientall, round about the which there are trees, and a compasse of pillers of white stone, which when a man rubbes with his hande, they shewe of the culler and savour of safferne. And in one of those pillers there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect: The coast of Artemisium.

> When boldest bloods of Athens by their might
> had overcome, the numbers infinite
> of Asia: they then in memorie,
> of all their dedes, and valliant victorie
> beganne to build, this noble monument:
> and to Diane the same they dyd present,
> for that they had the Medes likewise subdued,
> and with their bloud, their hardy hands embrued.

There is a place seene also upon that coast at this daye, a good waye into the lande, in the middest whereof are great sands full of blacke dust as ashes: and they thincke that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and olde shippwracks. Newes being brought what had bene done in the countrie of Thermopyles, how that king Leonidas was dead, and how that Xerxes had wonne that entry into Greece by lande: the Greecians then brought their whole army by sea more into Greece, the Athenians being in the rereward in this retire, as men whose hartes were lifte up with the glorie of

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THEMISTOCLES

Themistocles stratageame.

their former valliant dedes. Nowe Themistocles passing by those places where he knewe the enemies must of necessitie fall upon the lee shore for harborow: he dyd ingrave certen wordes spoken unto the Ionians, in great letters in stone, which he founde there by chaunce, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harber for shippes, and fit places also to lye in. These were the wordes, that the Ionians should take the Greecians partes being their founders and auncesters, and such as fought for their libertie: or at the least they should trouble the armie of the barbarous people, and doe them all the mischief they could, when the Greecians should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the Ionians to take their parte, or at the least he should make the barbarous people jealous and mistrustfull of them. Xerxes being already entred in the uppermost parte of the province of Dorica, into the countrie of Phocida, burning and destroying the townes and citties of the Phocians: the other Greecians laye still and suffered the invasion, notwithstanding the Athenians did request them to mete with the barbarous armie in Bœotia, to save the countrie of Attica, as before they had done, when they went by sea to Artemisium. But they would not hearken to it in no wise, and all was bicause they were desirous they should drawe to the straite of Peloponnesus, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of Greece within the barre of the same, and make a strong substantiall walle from the one sea to the other. The Athenians were very angrie at this devise, and were half discoraged and out of harte, to see them selves thus forsaken and cast of, by the rest of the Greecians. For it was out of all speache that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: and therefore their only remedy was, to leave their cittie: and to get them to the sea. The people were very unwilling to listen hereunto, making their reckoning it was nedeles to be carefull to overcome, or to save them selves, having once forsaken the temples of their godds, and the graves of their parents. Wherfore Themistocles seeing that neither reason, nor mans persuasion could bring the people to like his opinion: he beganne to frame a

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devise (as men doe use somtimes in tragedies) and to threaten the Athenians with signes from heaven, with oracles and aunswers from the goddes. And the occasion of Minervaes draggon served his turne for a celestiall signe and token, which by good fortune dyd not appeare in those dayes in the temple as it was wont to doe: and the priests found the sacrifices which were daylie offered to him, whole and untouched by any. Wherefore being enformed by Themistocles what they should doe, they spred a brute abroade amongest the people, that the goddesse Minerva, the protectour and defendour of the cittie, had forsaken it, pointing them the waye unto the sea. And againe he wanne them by a prophecie, which commaunded them to save them selves in walles of wodd: saying, that the walles of wodd dyd signifie nothing els but shippes. And for this cause he saied, Apollo in his oracle called Salamina divine, not miserable nor unfortunate, bicause it should geve the name of a most happy victorie which the Greecians should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this decree, that they should leave the cittie of Athens to the custodie of the goddesse Pallas, that was lady and governour of the country, and that all those which were of age to carie any weapon should get them to the gallyes: and for the rest, that every man should see his wife, children, and bondmen placed in some suer place as well as he could. After this decree was past and authorised by the people, the most parte of them did convey their aged fathers and mothers, their wives and litle children, into the cittie of Trœzen, where the Trœzenians receyved them very lovingly and gently. For they gave order that they should be entertained of the common charge, allowing them a pece, two obulos of their money a daye, and suffered the young children to gather fruite wheresoever they founde it: and furthermore dyd hier schoolemasters at the charge of the common wealth, to bring them up at schoole. He that was the penner of this decree, was one called Nicagoras. The Athenians at that time, had no comon money, but the Senate of the Areopagites (as Aristotle sayeth) furnished every souldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet

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Wodden walles signifie shippes.

The Athenians forsake Athens by Themistocles persuasion, and doe goe to the sea.

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THEMISTOCLES

Clidemus writeth, that this was a crafte devised of Themistocles. The Athenians being come downe unto the haven of Piræa, he made as though Pallas tergat (on the which Medusus heade was graven) had bene lost, and was not found with the image of the goddesse: and faining to seeke for it, he ransacked every corner of the gallyes, and founde a great deale of silver which private persones had hidden amongest their fardells. This money was brought out unto the people, and by this meanes the souldiers that were shipped had wherewithall, to provide them of necessary things. When time came that they were to departe the haven, and that all the cittie of Athens had taken sea: one waye it was a pittie to beholde them. Another waye it made all sortes to wounder, that considered the boldnes and corage of those men, which before sent awaye their fathers, and mothers from them, and were nothing moved at the teares, cries, sherikes, and imbrasings of their wives, their children, and departures, but stowtly and resolutely helde on their course to Salamina. Notwithstanding, there were many olde cittizens left still of necessitie in Athens, bicause they could not be removed for very extreme age, which sturred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certen pittie that made mens harts to yerne, when they saw the poore doggs, beasts, and cattell ronne up and downe bleating, mowing, and howling out alowde after their masters, in token of sorowe, when they dyd imbarke. Amongest these, there goeth a straunge tale of Xanthippus dogge, who was Pericles father: which for sorowe his master had left him behinde him, dyd cast him self after into the sea, and swimming still by the galleys side wherein his master was, he helde on to the Ile of Salamina, where so sone as the poore curre landed, his breath fayled him, and dyed presently. They saye, at this daye the place called the doggs grave, is the very place where he was buried. These were straunge actes of Themistocles, that beholding the Athenians sory for the absence of Aristides, and fearing least of spyte he taking parte with the barbarous nation, might have bene the ruine and distruction of the state of Greece, being banished five yeres also before

Xanthippus dogge.

The dogges grave.

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THEMISTOCLES

the warres, by Themistocles procurement: that he dyd set forth a decree, that all those which had bene banished for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to saye, and to geve counsell to the cittizens in those things, which they thought best for the preservation of Greece. And also where Eurybiades, being generall of the Greecians whole army by sea, for the worthines of the cittie of Sparta, but otherwise a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any case departe from thence, and retire into the goulfe of Peloponnesus, where all the army of the Peloponnesians was by lande assembled: that Themistocles withstood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that Themistocles made so notable aunswers, which specially are noted, and gathered together. For when Eurybiades sayed one day unto him: Themistocles, those that at playes and games doe rise before the company, are whistled at. It is true, said Themistocles: but those that tarie last so, doe never winne any game. Another time Eurybiades having a staffe in his hande lift it up, as though he would have striken him. Strike and thou wilt, said he, so thou wilt heare me. Eurybiades woundring to see him so pacient, suffered him then to saye what he would. Then Themistocles beganne to bring him to reason: but one that stoode by sayed unto him: Themistocles, for a man that hath neither cittie nor house, it is an ill parte to will others that have, to forsake all. Themistocles turning to him, replied: We have willingly forsaken our houses and walles, sayed he, cowardly beaste that thou arte, bicause we would not become slaves for feare to lose things, that have neither soule nor life. And yet our cittie I tell thee is the greatest of all Greece: for it is a fleete of two hundred galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to save you if you list. But if you will needes goe your wayes, and forsake us the seconde time: you shall heare tell ere it be long, that the Athenians have another free cittie, and have possessed againe as much good land, as that they have already lost. These wordes made Eurybiades presently thincke, and feare, that the Athenians would not goe, and that they would forsake them. And as another Eretrian was about to utter his reason against

Aristides returneth from banishement by Themistocles decree.

Notable aunswers of Themistocles.

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THEMISTOCLES

Themistocles opinion: he could not but aunswer him: Alas, and must you my masters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleue? In deede you have a sworde, but you lacke a harte. Some write, that whilest Themistocles was talking thus from his galley, they spyed an owle flying on the right hande of the shippes, which came to light on one of the mastes of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other Greecians dyd agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by sea. But when the flete of their enemies shippes shewed on the coastes of Attica, harde by the haven Phalericus, and covered all the rivers thereabouts, as farre as any bodie could see, and that king Xerxes him selfe was come in persone with all his army by lande, to campe by the sea side: so that his whole power both by lande and sea might be seene in sight: then the Greecians had forgotten all Themistocles goodly persuasions, and beganne to incline againe to the Peloponnesians, considering how they might recover the goulfe of Peloponnesus, and they dyd growe very angry, when any man went about to talke of any other matter. To be shorte, it was concluded that they should sayle awaye the next night following, and the masters of the shippes had order geven them to make all things readie for them to departe. Themistocles perceyving their determination, he was marvelous angry in his minde, that the Greecians would thus disperse them selves a sonder, repairing every man to his owne cittie, and leaving the advantage which the nature of the place, and the straight of the arme of the sea, where they laye in harber together, did offer them: and so he bethought him selfe howe this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practise of one Sicinus came into his minde, who being a Persian borne, and taken prisoner before in the warres, loved Themistocles very well, and was schoolemaster to his children. This Sicinus he secretly sent unto the king of Persia, to advertise him that Themistocles (generall of the Athenians) was very desirous to become his majesties servaunte, and that he dyd let him understand betimes, that the Greecians were determined to flye: and therefore that he wished him not to let them scape, but to set upon them, whilest they were troubled and affrayed, and farre from their army by

The Sleue is a fishe facioned like a sworde.

Themistocles stratageame, by the which he wanne the battell at Salamina.

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lande, to the ende that upon a sodaine he might overthrowe their whole power by sea. Xerxes supposing this intelligence came from a man that wished him well, receyved the messenger with great joye, and thereupon gave present order to his captaines by sea, that they should imbarke their men into the other shippes at better leysure, and that presently they should put out with all possible speede, two hundred sayle to followe the Greecians in the taile, to shut up the foreland of the straite, and to compasse the Iles all about, that not one of his enemies shippes should scape: and so it fell out. Then Aristides (Lysimachus sonne) being the first that perceyved it, went to Themistocles tente, though he was his enemie, and through his only meanes had bene banished before, as ye have heard: and calling him out, told him how they were environned. Themistocles, who knewe well enough the goodnes of this man, being very glad he came at that time to seeke him out, declared unto him the pollicie he had used by the message of Sicinus, praying him to put to his helpe to staye the Greecians, and to procure with him, considering his worde had more authoritie among them, that they would fight within the straight of Salamina. Aristides commending his great wisdome, went to deale with the captaines of the other gallyes, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he sayed, untill such time as there arrived a galley of Tenediena, whereof one Panetius was captaine, who being stolen out of the hoste of the barbarous army, brought certen newes, that the straight out of doubt was shut up. So that besides the necessitie which dyd urge them, the spight which the Greecians conceyved thereof, dyd provoke them to hazard the battell. The next morning by breake of daye, king Xerxes placed him selfe on a marvelous steepe highe hill, from whence he might descerne his whole flete, and the ordering of his army by sea, above the temple of Hercules, as Phanodemus writeth. Which is the narrowe waye or channell betwext the Ile of Salamina, and the coast of Attica: or as Acestodorus sayeth, upon the confines of the territories of Megara, above the pointe which they commonly call the hornes. There Xerxes set up a throne of golde, and had about him many secretaries,

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Themistocles and Aristides consent together to geve battell.

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THEMISTOCLES

to write all that was done in the battell. But as Themistocles was sacrificing unto the goddes in his galley that was admiral, they brought to him three young prisoners, fayer of complexion, richely arrayed with gold and juells, whom they sayed were the children of Sandaucé the kings sister, and of prince Autarctus. So soone as Euphrantides the soothesayer had seene them, and at their arrivall observed there rose a great bright flame out of the sacrifice, and at the very selfe same instant that one on his right hand had sneesed: he tooke Themistocles by the hand, and willed him to sacrifice all those three prisoners unto the god Bacchus, surnamed Omestes, as much to saye, as the cruell Bacchus: for in doing it, the Greecians should not only be saved, but they should have the victorie over their enemies. Themistocles woundred much, to heare so straunge and terrible a commaundement of the soothsayer. Nevertheles, the comon sorte following his custome, which is, to promise safety soner in the greatest daungers, and most desperate cases, by straunge and unreasonable, rather then by reasonable and ordinary meanes: they beganne to call upon the god with one voyce, and bringing the three prisoners neere unto the altar, they compelled him to performe the sacrifice in that sorte as the soothesayer had appointed. Phanias Lesbian, an excellent philosopher, and well seene in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the shippes of the barbarous navie: Æschylus the poet, in a tragedie which he intituled the Persians, knowing certainely the trothe, sayeth thus:

Xerxes king of Persia had a thousand ships.

King Xerxes had, a thousand shippes I knowe,
amongest the which, two hundred were (I trowe)
and seven: which all the rest dyd oversayle
with swifter course. This is withouten fayle.

The Athenians had nine score, in every one of the which there were eightene souldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. Themistocles also did with no lesse skill and wisedom choose his time and place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, untill the hower was come, that of ordinarie custome the sea winde arose, and

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brought in a rough tyde within the channell, which dyd not hurt the Græcian gallyes, being made lowe and snugge, but greatly offended the Persian gallyes, being highe cargged, heavie, and not yare of steredge, and made them lye sidelong to the Greecians, who fiercely set upon them having allwayes an eye to Themistocles direction, that best foresawe their advantage. At the same time, Ariamenes, Xerxes admirall, a man of great valure and worthiest of the Kings brethern, bestowed arrowes and dartes as it were from the walles of a castell, charging the gallye of Aminias Decelian, and Sosicles Pedian, which were joyned and grappled with him, and fiercely entring the same, was by them valliantly receyved upon their pikes, and thrust over borde into the sea. Whose bodie floting amongest other shippewracks Artemisia knowing, caused to be caried to king Xerxes. Nowe whilest this battell stoode in these termes, they saye that there appeared a great flame in the element, toward the cittie of Eleusin, and that a lowde voyce was heard through all the plaine of Thriasia unto the sea, as if there had bene a number of men together, that had songe out alowde, the holy songe of Iacchus. And it seemed by litle and litle, that there rose a clowde in the ayer from those which sange: that left the land, and came and lighted on the gallyes in the sea. Other affirmed, that they sawe armed men, which did reache out their hands from the Ile of Ægina, towards the Greecian gallyes: and they thought they were the Æacides, for whose helpe they all prayed before the battell was begonne. The first man of the Athenians that tooke any of the enemies shippes, was Lycomedes, a captaine of a gallye: who having taken very rich furniture and flagges, did afterwards consecrate them to Apollo laurell: as ye would saye, victorious. The other Greecians in the fronte being equall in number with the barbarous shipps, by reason of the straightnes of the arme of the sea wherein they fought, and so straightned as they could not fight but by one and one, where by the Barbarians disorderly layed one another abourde, that they did hinder them selves with their over multitude: and in the end were so sore pressed upon by the Greecians, that they were constrayned to flye by night, after

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Ariamenes Xerxes admirall.

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THEMISTOCLES

they had fought and mainteined battell, until it was very darke. So the Græcians wanne that glorious and famous victorie: of the which maye truly be affirmed that, as Simonides sayeth:

The Grecians victorie of the Persians navy by sea.

> Was never yet, nor Greeke nor Barbarous crew
> that could by sea, so many men subdew:
> Nor that obteind, so famous victorie
> in any fight, against their enemie.

Thus was the victorie wonne through the valliantnes and corage of those that fought that battell, but especially through Themistocles great policie and wisdome. After this battell Xerxes being mad for his losse, thought to fill up the arme of the sea, and to passe his armie by lande, upon a bridge, into the Ile of Salamina. Themistocles, bicause he would feele Aristides opinion, tolde him as they were talking together, that he thought best to goe and occupie the straight of Hellespont with the armie by sea, to breake the bridge of shippes which Xerxes had caused to be made: to the ende, said he, that we maye take Asia into Europe. Aristides liked not this opinion: for we have (said he) fought all this while against this barbarous King, who thought but to playe with us: But if we shut him within Greece, and bring him to fight of necessitie to save his life: such an enemy that commaundeth so great an armie, will no more stand still as a looker on, and set at his ease under his golden pavilion, to see the pastime of the battell, but will prove everie waye, and be him selfe in every place at all assayes to save him self from such a straight and daunger. Thus with politicke care and foresight, he maye easely amend his former fault committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he shall see his life and Kingdome both depend upon it. Therefore Themistocles, I would thincke not best to breake his bridge at all, which he hath caused to be made: but rather if we could, to build another to it, to drive him out of Europe as sone as we could. Themistocles then replied: Seeing you thincke this were good to be done, we must all laye our heades together, to devise, how he maye be forced to come out assone as we could. They breaking of

Aristides counsell unto Themistocles, for the breaking of Xerxes bridge.

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THEMISTOCLES

with this resolution, Themistocles sent immediately one of the Kings eunuches, called Arsaces, that was one of the gromes of his chamber, whom he found out amongest the prisoners, and by him he sent this message unto the King. That the Greecians having wonne the battell of him by sea, had decreed in their counsell, how they would goe to the straight of Hellespont, to breake the bridge of shippes he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to advertise him, for the goodwil he did beare him, and to the ende he might bethincke him betimes, to get him away to the sea within his own dominion, and so passe backe againe into Asia as sone as he could, whilest he gave order to his allies and confederates, to staye following him at the poope. The barbarous King understanding these newes, was so affrayed, that he hoysed away with all possible speede. The further foresight and great wisdome of Themistocles, and Aristides, in marine causes, dyd manifestly appeare afterwards in the battell the Greecians fought before the cittie of Platea, against Mardonius, king Xerxes lieutenante: who having but a smal power of the King his soveraines there, dyd yet put the Greecians to great distresse, and in hazard to have lost all. Of all the townes and cities that fought in this battell, Herodotus writeth, that the cittie of Ægina wanne the fame for valliantnes above the rest: and of private men, among the Grecians, Themistocles was judged the worthiest man: although it was sore against their willes, bicause they envied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being gotten into the straight of Peloponnesus, and having sworne upon the altar of their sacrifices, that they would geve their voyces after their consciences, to those they thought had best deserved it: every one gave him selfe the first place for worthines, and the seconde unto Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians caried him into Sparta, where they judged the honour and dignitie to their admirall Eurybiades: but the wisedome and pollicie they attributed to Themistocles. In token thereof they gave him an olive braunche, and the goodliest coche that was in their cittie: and moreover they sent three hundred of their lusty youthes to accompany him, and conducte him out of

Themistocles stratageame.

Themistocles honored above all the Grecians.

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their countrie. They saye, at the next feastes and assembly of the playes Olympicall that were made after this victorie: when Themistocles was once come into the showe place where these games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, shewing him to the straungers which knewe him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their handes dyd witnesse howe much they esteemed him. Whereat he him selfe tooke so great delite, that he confessed to his familiar friends, he then dyd reape the fruite and benefit of his sundry and painefull services he had taken in hande, for the preservation of Greece: so ambitious was he of nature, and covetous of honour, as we maye easely perceyve by certen of his dedes and notable sayings they have noted of him. For being chosen admirall of Athens he never dispatched any causes private or publicke, howsoever they fell out, untill the very daye of his departure, and taking shippe: and all bicause that men seeing him ryd much busines at once, and to speake with so many persones together, they should esteeme him to be the notabler man, and of the greater authoritie. Another time he walked upon the sandes by the sea side, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the sea had cast up upon the shore: and seing some of them that had on still their chaynes of golde, and bracelets, he passed by on his waye, but shewed them yet to his familiar friende that followed him, and sayed unto him: Take thou those, for thou art not Themistocles. And unto one Antiphates, who in his youth had bene a goodly young boye, and at that time dyd scornefully behave him selfe unto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he sawe him in authoritie came to see him, he sayed: O my young sonne, and friend: we are both even at one time (but to late) growen wise. He sayed the Athenians dyd not esteeme of him in time of peace: but when any storme of warres were towardes, and they stoode in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as they ronne to the shadowe of a plane tree, upon any sodaine raine: and after fayer weather come againe, they cut awaye then the braunches, and bowghes thereof. There was a man borne in the Ile of Seripha, who being fallen out with him, dyd cast him in the

Themistocles ambition noted.

Themistocles sayings.

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teethe, that it was not for his worthines, but for the noble cittie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne such glorie. THEMISTOCLES Thou sayest true sayed he: but neither should I ever have wonne any great honour, if I had bene a Seriphian, nor thou also if thou haddest bene an Athenian. An other time one of the captaines of the cittie, having done good service unto the common weale, made boast before Themistocles, and compared his service equall with his. Themistocles to aunswer him, tolde him a prety tale. That the working daye brawled on a time with the holy daye, repining against her, that he laboured for his living continually, and howe she dyd nothing but fill her bellie, and spende that they had gotten. Thou hast reason sayed the holy daye. But if I had not bene before thee, thou haddest not bene here nowe. And so, if I had not bene then: where had you my masters bene nowe? His owne sonne was a litle to sawsie with his mother, and with him also, bearing him self over boldely of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereupon being merely disposed, he would saye that his sonne could doe more then any man in all Greece. For, sayeth he, the Athenians commaunde the Græcians, I commaunde the Athenians, my wife commaundeth me, and my sonne commaundeth her. Moreover bicause he would be singular by him selfe above all other men: having a pece of lande he would sell, he willed the crier to proclaime open sale of it in the market place, and with all he should adde unto the sale, that his lande laye by a good neighbour. An other time, two men being suters to his daughter, he preferred the honester before the richer, saying: he had rather have to his sonne in lawe a man that lacked goodes, then goodes to lacke a man. These were Themistocles pleasaunt conceites and aunswers. But after he had done all these things we have spoken of before, he tooke in hande to buylde againe the cittie and walles of Athens, and dyd corrupt the officers of Lacedæmonia with money, to the end they should not hinder his purpose, as Theopompus writeth. Or as all other saye when he had deceyved them by this subtiltie, he went unto Sparta as ambassadour, sent thither of purpose upon the complaintes of the Lacedæmonians, for that the

A prety tale of Themistocles.

Themistocles saying of his sonne.

Themistocles buylt againe the walles of the cittie of Athens.

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Athenians dyd inclose their cittie againe with walles, who were accused unto the counsaill of Sparta, by an orator called Poliarchus, who was sent thither from the Æginetes, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the Athenians. Themistocles stowtely denied it to them, and prayed them for better understanding of the trothe, they would sende some of their men thither to see it. This was but a fetche only to winne by this delaye, the Athenians so muche more time to rayse up their walles, and that the Athenians should keepe as ostages for suertie of his persone, those they should send to Athens, to bring backe the reporte thereof: and so it fell out. For the Lacedæmonians being informed of the trothe as it was, dyd him no hurte, but dissembling the misliking they had to be thus abused by him, sent him awaye safe and sounde. Afterwardes he made them also mende and fortifie the haven of Pirræa, having considered the situation of the place, and all to incline the cittie to the sea. Wherein he dyd directly contrary to all the counsell of the auncient kings of Athens: who seeking (as they saye) to withdrawe their people from the sea, and to accustome them to live upon the lande, by planting, sowing, and plowing their groundes, dyd devise and geve out abroade, the fable they tell of the goddesse Pallas. And that is this, how she contending with Neptune about the patronage of the country of Athens, brought forth and shewed to the judges the olyve tree, by meanes whereof she prevayled, and obteined the preheminence. Even so Themistocles dyd not joyne the haven of Pirræa, unto the cittie of Athens, as the comicall poet Aristophanes sayeth: but rather joyned the cittie unto the haven Pirræa, and the lande unto the sea. By this meanes he made the people strong against the nobilitie, and brought the communaltie to waxe bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authoritie fell into the handes of saylers, mariners, pilottes, shippemasters, and such kinde of seafaring men: so as the pulpet where all the oracles were made, stoode in the market place of Pnyx, and dyd looke towardes the sea. But the thirtie tyrannes that came in afterwardes, dyd remove it, and turne it towardes the lande: holding opinion to be strong by sea, was it that dyd mainteine the authoritie

A subtle fetche of Themistocles.

The haven of Pirræa fortified.

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of the popular state. And that contrariwise they which live by the labour and toyle of the earthe, doe more willingly like the government of Nobilitie. Themistocles called to minde another matter also of greater importance, to make the cittie of Athens of a greater power by sea. For after the retire of Xerxes, and that all the fleete and navie of the Græcians wintered in the haven of Pagases: he sayed one daye in an open assembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them, but it was not to be tolde openly. The people willed him then to imparte it to Aristides: and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedely. Themistocles then tolde Aristides: the thing he had considered of, was to burne the Arcenal where the Græcians navy laye, and to set on fire all their shippes. Aristides hearing his purpose, returned to the people, and tolde them: howe nothing could be more profitable, but with all more unjust, then that which Themistocles had devised. The Athenians then willed Aristides it should be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the Lacedæmonians had exhibited their petition to the counsell of the Amphictyons (that is the generall counsaill of all the states of Græce assembled) howe the townes and citties of Græce which had not bene parties with the Grecians to the league, against the barbarous people, should be put of wholy from this counsaill. Themistocles dowting of the Argives, the Thessalians, and the Thebans also should by this meanes be exempted, that the Lacedæmonians would be then the greater number in voyces, and by this meanes might doe what they would in this counsell: he spake so consideratly for the citties which they would have thus discharged, that he made the petitioners in the assembly utterly to chaunge their opinion. Declaring, howe there were but one and thirtie citties comprised only the league, and yet that some of them were very weake and small: and howe it were no reason, that rejecting all the rest of Grece, the greatest authoritie of this counsaill should fall into the handes of two or three of the chiefest citties alone. For this cause chiefly the Lacedæmonians dyd ever beare him extreme hatred, and dyd set up Cimon all they could, to be

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The equitie of the Athenians.

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allwayes adversary opposite unto him, and as it were to bearde him in all matters of state, and the government of Athens. They procured him besides, the ill will and displeasure of all the friendes and confederates of the Athenians, for that he went sayling still to and fro alongest the Iles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the same. And this is to be knowen by the matter propounded by him to the Andrians (of whom he would have had money) and by the aunswer they made him, as Herodotus writeth. Which was, howe he had brought them two mightie goddes: Love, and Force. And they aunswered him againe, that they also had two great goddesses, which kept them from geving of him any money: Povertie, and Impossibilitie. And to make this good also: Timocreon the Rhodian poet galled him to the quicke, when he sharpely taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were banished: and howe for covetousnes of money he had betrayed, and forsaken, his hoste and friende. The verses wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effecte:

Themistocles goddes, Love and Force.

The Andrians goddesses, Povertie, Impossibilitie.

Who list commend worthy Pausanias,
Xanthippus or good Leotychides,
yet shall I seeme but light thereof to passe,
compared with valliant Aristides.
For yet was naye, the like in Athens towne,
nor never shall come none of like renowne.
Themistocles by right and due deserte,
is hated of Latona, for his lyes,
and for he bare a traitrous wicked harte,
who like a wretche, and nigard did devise,
for small rewardes, his host Timocreon
to holde, out of his countrie Ialison.
He tooke for bribe (unjustly yet therewhile)
of redy coyne three talents fayre and bright,
revoking such as pleased him, from exile
and banishing full many a worthy wight.
Or putting them to death, without cause tolde,
he gate thereby, great heapes of coyne and golde.
But in the ende (O right reward for such)
this bribing wretch, was forced for to holde,
a tipling bowthe, most like a clowne or snuche,
at holy feastes and pastimes manifold,
which were amongest the people in those dayes
Istmiciane folke, dyd use the like allwayes.

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And there he served, his gests with cold meat still,
whilest they that tasted of his cookerie,
gan wishe that they (to ease their weary will)
had never lived to see the treccherie,
of false Themistocles, and that he might
no longer live, which wrought them such despight.

After this, he dyd more openly blase him to the worlde, when he was banished and condemned: in a songe that had beginning thus:

O Muse, let these my verses be disperst,
throughout all Grœce, since they deserve no lesse:
and since the truthe which is in them rehearst,
deserveth fame, whom no man should suppresse.

They saye the cause was, why this Timocreon was banished: the friendshippe which he had with the Barbarous people, and for geving them intelligence. Whereof Themistocles was one that judicially condemned him. Wherefore when Themistocles him selfe was accused afterwards of the same faulte, Timocreon then made these verses following against him:

Timocreon was not without his pheere,
which did conferre with Medes prively,
Since others mo, the selfe same blame might beare,
mo foxes lurke in dennes as well as I.

Besides these verses, Themistocles owne cittizens for the ill will they bare him, were contented to heare him ill spoken of. Therefore while he sought wayes, to redresse all this: he was driven to use such meane, which more increased their hatred toward him. For in his orations to the people, he dyd ofte remember them of the good service he had done them: and perceyving howe they were offended withall, he was driven to saye: Why, are ye weary so ofte to receyve good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he surnamed Diana (in the dedication of her temple he made unto her) *Aristobule*, as much to saye, as the good counseller: meaning thereby, howe he had geven grave and wise counsell, both unto his cittie, and to all the rest of the Grecians. He built this temple also neere his house, in a place called Melita, where the hangemen doe cast the dead bodies of those that were executed,

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and throwe the ragges and halters endes of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by lawe. There was also in our dayes in the temple of Diana Aristobule, a litle image of Themistocles, which shewed plainely, that he was not only wise, and of a noble minde, but also of a great majestie and countenaunce in face. In the ende, the Athenians banished him Athens for five yeres, bicause they would plucke downe his overgreat corage and authoritie, as they dyd use to serve those, whose greatnes they thought to be more, then common equalitie that ought to be among cittizens would beare. For this manner of banishment for a time, called *Ostracismon*, was no punishment for any faulte committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the envie of the people, which delited to plucke downe their stomaks that to much seemed to exceede in greatnes: and by this meanes they tooke awaye the poyson of his malice, with diminishing his glorie and honour. So Themistocles being banished Athens, went to dwell in Argos. In this meane season, Pausanias trecchery fell out, which gave his enemies occasion to lye heavie on his backe. But he which became his accuser, and was partener of the treason, was one called Leobotes (Alcmeons sonne) borne in a village called Agraula. Besides this, the Spartans also dyd sit on his skirtes, and charged him sorely. For Pausanias never before revealed to Themistocles the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familliar friende. But after he sawe Themistocles was banished, and dyd take his exile very unpaciently: then Pausanias was bolde to open his treason to him, to procure him to take his parte, and shewed him the letters the king of Persia had written to him, and all to sturre him up against the Græcians, as against ungratefull and unnaturall people. Howbeit Themistocles shooke him of, and tolde him plainely he would be no partener of his treason. Notwithstanding, he never revealed it to any living creature, nor discovered the practise he intended: hoping either he would have geven it over, or that shortely it would appeare by some other meane, considering he so fondly aspired to things of great daunger, and without purpose or possibilitie. After Pausanias was condemned, and had suffered paynes of death for the same:

Themistocles banished for five yere.

Pausanias revealeth his treason unto Themistocles.

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they found amongest his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made Themistocles to be very sore suspected. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians on the one side cried out of him: and his enemies and ill willers at Athens accused him on th' other side. To the which he made aunswer by letters from the beginning, and wrote unto the people, it was not likely that he (who sought all the wayes to rule, and was not borne to serve, neither had any minde thereto) would ever have thought in his heade, to sell his owne libertie, and the Græcians also unto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehende him, and to bring him before the states of all Græce, to be judged by that counsaill. Whereof Themistocles having intelligence in time, he dyd convey him selfe into the Ile of Corphu, bicause the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certen pleasure in time paste he had done them. For they being at sute and strife with the Corinthians, he tooke up the matter betweene them, and gave judgement on their side, and condemned the Corinthians to paye them twenty talents damages: and did set downe an order, that they should occupie the Ile of Leucade in common together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, aswell of the one cittie, as of the other. From thence he fled to Epirus, whether being followed by the Athenians, and the Lacedæmonians, he was compelled to venter him selfe upon a doubtfull and very daungerous hope. For he went to yelde him selfe into the hands of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Who having heretofore made certen requestes unto the Athenians, and being shamefully denied them by meanes of Themistocles (who then was at his chiefest height and authoritie) the King was marvelously offended with him: and it was a clere case in deede, that if he could then have layed handes on him, he would have bene revenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the present miserie of his exile, he thought he might lesse feare the Kings olde quarrell and displeasure, then the freshe hate and envie of his contriemen. Whereupon he went unto king Admetus, trusting to his mercie, and became an humble suter to him

Themistocles suspected of treason.

Themistocles fled into the Ile of Corphu.

The manner of supplication among the Molossians.

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in a straunge extraordinarie sorte. For he tooke the Kings litle young sonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of suinge the Molossians take to be most effectuall, and such as they dare not denie, nor refuse. Some saye that Queene Phthia her selfe, the Kings wife, dyd enforme him of this their country custome and manner, and brought her litle sonne also neere unto the altar. Other write also, that it was Admetus him selfe that taught and shewed him this inforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuse him selfe to those that should come to demaunde Themistocles of him: that by duetie of religion he was so straightly bounde and restrained, that he might not deliver him out of his protection. In this meane time, Epicrates Acharnian founde the meanes secretly to convey Themistocles wife and children out of Athens, and dyd send them privelie unto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused, and put to death, upon Cimons accusation and motion, as Stesimbrotus writeth. Who not remembring those matters I knowe not howe, or making as though Themistocles had not remembred him selfe, doth saye, that Themistocles sayled into Sicile, where he sought to mary Hierons daughter, the tyranne of Syracusa: promising him if he would let him have her, he would assure him to conquer all Grece for him, and to bring them under his obedience. But Hieron refusing this offer, Themistocles went from thence into Asia: but that is not likely. For Theophrastus writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdomes, that Hieron having sent certain running horses to the feast of games Olympicall, and having set up a marvelous riche and sumptuous tent there: Themistocles made an oration to the Grecians, declaring unto them how they should teare the tyrannes tente in peces, and not to suffer his horses to ronne with other swifte and light horses, and to cary away the price in those holy games. Thucydides againe declareth, howe he went unto the other sea, and imbarked in the cittie of Pydne, being knowen of never a man in the shippe, untill such time as the winde beganne to carie them into the Ile of Naxos, which the Athenians by chaunce dyd besiege at that time, where being afeard to be set on lande, he was

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forced to bewraye him self to the master of the shippe, and the masters mate, and wrought them, what with fayer wordes and what with threates (by saying he would accuse them to the Athenians, that they dyd not ignorantly receive him in, but hiered for money) so as he compelled them to sayle on further, and to cary him into Asia. As for his goodes, his friendes saved the most parte of them, and sent them into Asia to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate unto the state: Theopompus writeth, they dyd amounte to the value of one hundred talents. And Theophrastus sayeth, but to foure score talents only. So that all his goodes was not worth three talents, when he beganne to governe the state of the common weale. When he came unto the cittie of Cuma, he perceyved that all the coastes by sea were layed for him to apprehende him, and that he had many spyalls upon him: among the which, these were two speciall noted men, Ergoteles, and one Pythodorus, the reward being very great, for men that sought their gayne any waye they could. For the king of Persia had proclaymed by sound of trumpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him Themistocles. Whereupon he fled unto a litle towne of Æolia, called Æges, where no living bodie knewe him, but his host only, called Nicogenes: who was the richest man of all the Æolians, and knewe all the noble men of authoritie that were about the king of Persia. Themistocles continued hidden certen dayes in his house: in which time, on a night after the feast of a sacrifice, one Olbius, schoolemaster to Nicogenes children, by some secret working of the goddes, sodainely fell besides him selfe, and beganne to singe these verses out alowde: THEMISTOCLES

Doe thou beleeve, what so the night the tells
and geve thy voyce, thy counsell and conceipts
Unto the night, in darcksomnes that dwells,
thereon also thy victorie awaits.

The next night following, Themistocles being fast asleepe in his bed, dreamed that a snake wounde it selfe round about his bellie, and glided upwardes to his necke, untill it touched his face, and sodainely then it became an eagle, and imbraced him with his winges: and so at length dyd lift him up into Themistocles dreame.

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the ayer, and caried him a marvelous waye of, untill he thought he sawe a golden rodde (suche as Herauldes use to carie in their handes) whereupon the eagle dyd set him, and so was delivered of all this feare and trouble he thought him selfe in. The trothe was, Nicogenes had this devise in his heade, howe he might bring him safe to the king of Persiaes courte. The Barbarous nations for the most parte (and specially the Persians) are of a very straunge nature, and marvelous jealous over their women, and that not onely of their wives, but also of their bonde women, and concubines: which they keepe so straightly locked up, that no man ever seeth them abroade at any time, but are allwayes like housedoves kept within doores. And when they have any occasion to goe into the country, they are caried in close coches covered all about, that no man can looke into them. Themistocles was conveyed into one of these coches drest after this manner, and had warned his men to aunswer those they met by the waye, that asked whom they caried: howe it was a young Grecian gentlewoman of the countrie of Ionia, which they caried to the courte for a noble man there. Thucydides, and Charon Lampsacenian saye, he went thither after the death of Xerxes, and spake with his sonne there. But Ephorus, Dino, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and many other write, that he spake with him selfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that Thucydides wordes doe best agree with the chronicles and tables, recording the succession of times, although they be of no great certaintie. Themistocles being come nowe to the swordes pointe (as it were) and to the extremitie of his daunger: dyd first present him selfe unto one Artabanus, Colonell of a thousand footemen, and sayed unto him: Syr, I am a Grecian borne, and desire to speake with the King: I have matters of importance to open to his majestie, and such as I knowe he will thanckefully receyve. Artabanus aunswered him in this manner: My friend syr straunger, the lawes and customes of men are divers, and some take one thing for honest, others some another thing: but it is most honesty for all men, to keepe and observe the lawes and manners of their owne countrie. For you Grecians have the name to love libertie, and equalitie

The Persians jealous of their wives.

Howe Themistocles was conveyed to the king of Persias courte.

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above all things: and for us, amongest all the goodly lawes and customes we have, we esteeme this above the rest: to reverence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt facion thy selfe after our manner to honour the King, thou mayest both see him, and speake with him: but if thou have another minde with thee, then must thou of necessitie use some thirde persone for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrie: the King never geveth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. Themistocles hearing what he sayed, aunswered him againe: My lord Artabanus, the great good will I beare unto the King, and the desire I have to advaunce his glorie and power, is the only cause of my present repaire unto his courte: therefore I meane not only to obey your lawes (since it hath so pleased the goddes to rayse up the noble empire of Persia unto this greatnes) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there doe at this present. Therefore let there be no staye, but that my selfe in persone maye deliver to the King that I have to saye unto him. Well, sayed Artabanus: whom then shall we saye thou arte? For by thy speache it seemeth, thou art a man of no meane state and condition. Themistocles aunswered him: As for that Artabanus, none shall knowe before the King him selfe. Thus doth Phanias reporte it. But Eratosthenes, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: howe Themistocles had accesse unto this Artabanus, being recommended to the King by a woman of Eretria, whom the King kept. Themistocles being brought to his presence, after he had presented his humble duety and reverence to him, stoode on his feete, and sayed never a worde, untill the King commaunded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he aunswered: Maye it please your majestie, O noble King: I am Themistocles the Athenian, a banished man out of my country by the Grecians, who humbly repayreth to your highnes, knowing I have done great hurt to the Persians, but I persuade my self I have done them farre more good then harme. For I it was that kept the Grecians backe they dyd not follow you, when the state of Grece was

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The Persians honour their King as the image of the god of nature.

Themistocles talke with the king of Persia.

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THEMISTOCLES

delivered from thraldome, and my native country from daunger, and that I knew I stoode then in good state to pleasure you. Nowe for me, I finde all mens good willes agreable, to my present misery and calamitie: for I come determined, most humbly to thancke your highnes, for any grace and favour you shall shewe me, and also to crave humble pardone, if your majesty be yet offended with me. And therfore licence me (most noble King) to beseche you, that taking mine enemies the Grecians for witnesses of the pleasures I have done the Persian nation, you will of your princely grace use my harde fortune, as a good occasion to shewe your honorable vertue, rather then to satisfie the passion of your heate and choller. For in saving my life, your majestie saveth an humble suter that put him selfe to your mercie: and in putting me to death, you shall ryd away an enemy of the Grecians. Having spoken thus these words, he sayed further: That the goddes, by divers signes and tokens had procured him, to come to submit him selfe unto him, and tolde the King what vision he had seene in his dreame in Nicogenes house: and declared also the oracle of Iupiter Dodonian, who had commaunded him that he should goe unto him that was called as a god, and howe he thought it was the persone of his majestie, bicause that god and he in trothe were called both great Kings. The King having thus heard him speake, gave him then no present aunswer againe, notwithstanding he marvelously wondred at his great wisedome and boldenes. But afterwardes amongest his familliars the King sayed, he thought him selfe very happy to mete with the good fortune of Themistocles comming to him: and so besought his great god Arimanius, that he would allwayes send his enemies such mindes, as to banishe the greatest, and wisest men amongest them. It is reported also he did sacrifice unto the goddes, to geve them thankes therefore, and disposed him selfe presently to be mery. Insomuch as dreaming in the night, in the middest of his dreame he cried out three times together for joye: I have Themistocles the Athenian. The next morning the King having sent for the chiefest lordes of his courte, he made Themistocles also to be brought before him: who looked

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for no goodnes at all, specially when he sawe the souldiers warding at the courte gates, geve him ill countenaunce and language both, when they behelde him, and understoode his name. Moreover, Roxanes, one of the captaines, as Themistocles passed by him going to the King (who was set in his chayer of state, and every man keeping silence) softely sighing, sayed unto him: O thou Greekishe serpent, subtill and malicious: the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hether. Nevertheles when he came to the King, and had once againe made him a very humble and lowe reverence: the King saluted him, and spake very curteously to him, saying: I am nowe your detter of two hundred talents, for presenting your self. It is good reason I should deliver you the money promised him that should have brought you: but I geve you a further warrante, be bolde I charge you, and speake your minde freely, saye what you thinke of the state of Grece. Themistocles then aunswered him: That mens wordes did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a pece of arras: for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seene, when they are unfolded and layed open. Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut up, and close folded: whereupon he sayed to the King, he must nedes require some further time of aunswer. The King liked his comparison passingly well, and willed him to appointe his owne time. Themistocles asked a yere: in which time having pretily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the King him selfe without any interpreter. So, suche as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of Grece. But bicause the chaunge and alteration of the courte fell out great at that time, the noble men imagined he had bene so bolde to comon with the King of them also. Thereupon they greatly envied him, and afterwardes murmured much against him. For in deede the king dyd honour Themistocles above all other straungers whatsoever they were. On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him see his mother, with whom he grewe familliar: and by the kings owne commaundement he was to heare the disputations of the wise men of Persia touching secret

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An excellent comparison of Themistocles.

Themistocles honoured of the king of Persia.

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philosophie, which they call magike. Demaratus the Lacedæmonian being at that time in the courte of Persia, the king willing him to aske what gifte he would, he besought the king to graunt him this favour: to licence him to goe up and down the cittie of Sardis, with his royall hat on his head, as the kings of Persia doe. Mithropaustes, the kings cosin, taking him by the hand, sayed unto him: Demaratus, the kings hatte thou demaundest, and if it were on thy heade, it would cover but litle wit: Naye though Iupiter dyd geve thee his lightning in thy hande, yet that would not make thee Iupiter. But the king gave him so sharpe a repulse for his unreasonable request, and was so angrie with him for it, that it was thought he would never have forgeven him: howbeit Themistocles was so earnest a suter for him, that he brought him into favour againe. And the reporte goeth, that the kings successours which have bene since that time, under whom the Persians have had more dealings with the Grecians, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great state or personage of Grece into their service, they wrote unto him, and promised him they would make him greater about them, then ever was Themistocles about Xerxes. That which is written of him, doth also confirme it. For he being stept up to great countenaunce and authoritie, and followed with great traines of suters after him by reason of his greatnes: seing him self one daye very honorably served at his table, and with all sortes of daintie meates, he turned him to his children, and sayed unto them: My sonnes, we should have bene undone, if we had not bene undone. The most writers doe agree, that he had given him the revenue of 3 cities for his allowance of bread, wine and vittailes: to wit, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myunta. But Neanthes Cyzicenian, and Phanias, doe adde two other cities more, Percota, and Palescepsia: the one to defraye his charges of apparell, and the other for his lodging. Afterwards Themistocles going into the lowe countries towards the sea, to take order against the practises of the Grecians: there was a Persian lord called Epixies (governour of highe Phrygia) that had layed a traine to kill him (having of long time hiered certaine murderers of Pisidia to doe it) so soone as he

Demaratus fond demande of the King.

Themistocles had the revenue of three cities allowed him for his dyet.

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Themistocles escaped murder by a warning he had in his sleepe.

should come into a towne of his government, called the Lyons head. But as he slept on a daye in his house in the after none, the mother of the goddes appeared unto him, and sayed: Themistocles, goe not to the Lyons heade, for feare thou mete with the Lyon: and for this warning, I doe aske thy daughter Mnesiptolema for my servante. Themistocles waking sodainely out of his dreame, made his prayer unto the goddesse, and turning out of the highe waye, fetched another compasse about. Afterwardes having passed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beastes which caried his tente, fell by the waye, unfortunatly in a river, and all his arras and tapestry hangings being throughly wet, his servaunts were driven to laye them out a drying by moone light. The Pisidians that laye in wayte, and could not discerne by moone light that they were hangings layed out to drye, thought it had bene the very tente Themistocles selfe dyd lye in: whereupon they went unto it with their swordes drawen in their handes, hoping to have taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and beganne to lifte up a pece of the hangings: some of the people of Themistocles (which kept watche) perceyving them, ranne upon them, and tooke them. So Themistocles having escaped this daunger, wondred greately at the favour of the goddesse which had appeared unto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the cittie of Magnesia, he built a temple unto Dindymena, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema prioresse of the same. As he passed by the cittie of Sardis for his recreation, he went to visite the temples, and offerings that had bene geven there. So he sawe an image of a mayden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the goddes, being two yeardes highe, which they called the *Hydrophora*: as much to saye, as the water carier. And it was a statue, which him selfe had heretofore dedicated, and caused to be made, with the fines of those that had payed forfeytures, for stealing or turning awaye the water course at Athens, at suche time as he was master surveyer of the water workes and conduites there. Wherfore, whether Themistocles was sory to see this goodly image a prisoner in the handes of the Barbarous people, or that he would showe

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unto the Athenians the greatnes of his credit and authoritie through all the Kings dominions: he spake to the governour of Lydia, and prayed him for his sake that he would send this image againe to Athens. But this Barbarous governour was very angry with his request, and tolde him he would advertise the King thereof. Then Themistocles beganne to be afeard, and was driven to seeke to the governours women and concubines, whom he got for money to intreate him, and so made fayre weather againe with the governour. But from thenceforth, he tooke better garde of him selfe in all his doings, greatly fearing the envy of the Barbarous people. For he progressed not up and downe Asia, as Theopompus writeth, but laye a long time in the cittie of Magnesia, quietly enjoying the Kings gratious giftes bestowed on him: where he was honoured and reverenced for one of the greatest persones of Persia, whilest the King was els where occupied in the affayres of the highe provinces of Asia, and had no leysure to thincke upon those of Grece. But when newes was brought him, that Ægypt was rebelled, by meanes of the favour and assistance of the Athenians, and that the Grecians gallyes dyd scowre the seas even unto the Ile of Cyprus, and unto the coastes of Cilicia, and that Cimon had all the sea in subjection: that made him then to bende all his thoughts howe to resist the Grecians, that their greatnes might not turne to his hurte. Then commissions went out to leavy men, to assemble captaines, and to dispatche postes unto Themistocles at Magnesia, with the Kings letters, straightly charging him to have an eye to the Grecians doings, and moreover that he should faithfully keepe his promise he had made to him. But he, to shewe that he neither maliced his cittizens, nor was moved with the desire of greatnes and authoritie he might have growen unto in those warres, or els for that he thought the Kings expectation would prove to a greater matter, then he could ende or wade through, considering Grece was full at that time of famous captaines, and that Cimon amongest the rest had marvelous good fortune, and that it should be a reproche to him to stayne the glorie of so many noble actes, so many triumphes, and so great victories as Cimon had done

Themistocles love to his country.

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and wonne: he tooke a wise resolution with him selfe, to make suche an ende of his life, as the fame thereof deserved. THEMISTOCLES For he made a solemne sacrifice unto the goddes, and feasted at the same all his friends. And, after he had taken his leave of them all, he drancke bulles bloude, as most men thincke (or as other saye) poyson, which dispatcheth a man in foure and twenty howers, and so ended his dayes in the cittie of Magnesia, after he had lived threescore and five yeres, and the most parte of them allwayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the king of Persia understanding the cause and manner of his deathe, dyd more esteeme him afterwards, then he dyd before, and that ever after he continued to use his friends and familliars in very good sorte. For he left children behinde him, which he had of Archippa (Lysanders daughter) of the towne of Alopecia: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus, and Cleophantus, of whom Plato the philosopher maketh mention, saying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwise that there was no goodnes in him. His other sonnes that were elder, as Neocles, dyed being bitten with a horse: and as for Diocles another sonne, his grandfather Lysander dyd adopt him for his sonne. He had many daughters, of the which Mnesiptolema (which he had by a seconde wife) was maried unto her halfe brother Archeptolis, for they were not both of one venter. An other called Italia, was maried unto one Panthides of Chio. Sybaris, unto Nicomedes an Athenian. And Nicomacha, unto Pharsicles, Themistocles nephue: unto whom her brethern dyd mary her within the cittie of Magnesia, after the death of their father. This Pharsicles dyd bring up Asia, which was the youngest of all his daughters. Furthermore, his sumptuous tumbe standeth yet in the market place of Magnesia. But that Andocides writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friendes, is not to be credited, which was: that the Athenians having founde the ashes of his bones, dyd cast them up into the ayer, as a devise to sturre up the noble men against the people. And Phylarchus in his historie (much like unto the fayned subtilties of a tragedie) bringeth in I can not tell what Neocles, and Demopolis, for Themistocles sonnes, to move

The manner of Themistocles death.

Themistocles children.

Themistocles tumbe and relickes.

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the readers with compassion. Howbeit no man is so simple, but will judge it straight a very fayning and devise. Diodorus the cosmographer also, in a booke he hath written of tumbes and monuments sayeth, by conjecture, rather then of any certen knowledge: that alongest the haven of Pirœa, coming towardes the head of Alcimus, there is a forelande in forme of an elbowe, within the which when they have doubled the pointe, the sea is allwayes calme, and there they finde a great and long foundation or base, upon the which there is as it were the forme of an altar, and that is (sayeth he) Themistocles tumbe. And he supposeth that Plato the comicall poet doth witnesse it in these verses:

Thy grave is set and plast, comodiously,
where passengers and marchants that come by
maye visite thee, and where it maye regarde,
all such as seeke that porte to be their warde.
Somtimes also, it maye rejoyce to see,
the bloudy fights, upon the sea that be.

Honour done to Themistocles after his death.

And furthermore, those of Magnesia dyd institute certen honours unto the issue of Themistocles, which continew yet unto this daye. And in my time, another Themistocles also of Athens dyd enjoy the same honours, with whom I was familliarly conversante in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

THE ENDE OF THEMISTOCLES LIFE

THE LIFE OF FURIUS CAMILLUS

AMONGEST many great matters which are spoken of this Furius Camillus, this seemeth most straunge and wonderfull above the rest. That he having borne the chiefest offices of charge in his countrie, and having done many notable and worthy deedes in the same: as one that was chosen five times Dictator, and had triumphed foure times, and had wonne him selfe the

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name and title of the seconde founder of Rome, and yet never came to be Consul. But the only cause thereof was, that the common weale of Rome stoode then in such state and sorte. The people were then at dissention with the Senate. They would chuse no more Consuls, but other kynde of governours whom they called *Tribuni militares*: these dyd all things with like power and authoritie as the Consuls, yet were they nothing so odious unto the people, by reason of the number that was of them. For it was some hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the small number of nobilitie, that the government of the state being put into sixe, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the easier, and tollerabler. Nowe Camillus being at that time in his best credit and authoritie, and in the prime and glorie of his doings, dyd not desire to be made Consul without the goodwill of the people, although whilest he was in authoritie, there were many times Consuls created. But to all other offices and dignities, he was called, and chosen. He behaved him selfe in such sorte, that when he was alone, he made his authoritie comon to other: and when he had companions and associates, the glorie of all redounded to him self alone. The cause whereof, was his modestie on the one side, for he commaunded ever without envie: and his great wisedome and sufficiencie on the other side, for the which all others willingly gave him place, and yelded to him. The house of the Furians being at that time of no great fame, he was the first that beganne to set him self forwards. For in a great battell which was fought against the Æques and Volsces, he being but a private man at armes under the Dictator Posthumius Tubertus, was the first that riding out of the army, advaunced him selfe, and gave the charge. And being ronne into the thighe at the time with a staffe broken upon his thighe, he plucked the trunchen out, and retired not for all that: but geving chardge againe upon the stowtest of the enemies, he fought it out so valiantly to the encoraging of other, that he was the chief cause they turned their backes. Whereupon, to requite his service done at that time (besides other honours they dyd him) they made him Censor: an office at that time of great preheminence and

Why Camillus never came to be Consul.

The authoritie of a fewe, odious to the common people.

Camillus wisedome and modestie.

Camillus hurte.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

dignitie. In his office of Censorshippe, he dyd two notable acts. The one very honest: when he brought men that were not maried, to marie the women whom the warres had left widows, which were in number many. To this he got them partly by persuasion, and partly by threatnings, to set round fines upon their heads that refused. The other very necessary: in that he brought the orphanes to be contributories, unto taxes, and subsidies, which before payed nothing. The cause thereof was, the continuall warres, about the which the common weale susteined great charges: but specially about the siege of the citie of the Veians (which some call Venetanians) that was a very sore burden to them at that time. For it was the capitall cittie of all Thuscan, the which for store of armour, and number of souldiers, was nothing inferiour unto the cittie of Rome. For the Veians being growen to stomake and corage in time, by reason of their wealth and prosperitie, and for the sundry great battells they had fought against the Romaines, that contended with them for glory and empire: now it fell so out, that they finding them selves weakened by many great overthrowes, which they had receyved of the Romaines, they did let fall their former peacokes bravery, and ambition, to byd them battell any more in the fielde. Howbeit the inhabitants of the cittie of Veies having raised the walles, and made very great high rampers, beganne to fortifie them selves, and made good provision for armour and munition, besides store of corne, shotte, and other necessary things: they valliantly, and without feare of any thing, defended the siege of the Romaines, that continued long time, and was no lesse hard and painefull unto them that did besiege, then it was unto those that were besieged. For where the Romaines were wont before time to keepe their houses in the winter season, and the field only in the sommer time: that was the first time they were compelled by the captaines and *Tribuni militares*, to buylde fortes, and to intrenche their campe with a wall, even in their enemies countrie, and to winter abroade as they were wont to lye in the campe in sommer. Nowe this siege had continued seven whole yeres together. The captaines were burdened that they dyd not their dueties, nor

Camillus acts in his Censor shippe.

The cittie of Veies besieged.

The siege continued seven yeres together.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

stoode manfully to their charge: whereupon in the ende they were discharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to followe the siege. Among those, Camillus was one, whom then the seconde time they created *Tribunus militaris*. Who notwithstanding dyd nothing then in that siege, bicause it was his happe by lot, to make warres upon the Phalerians, and the Capenates. These people whilest the Romaines were occupied other where, had invaded their countrie, and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the Thuscans. But Camillus having overthrowen a great number of them in the fielde, had the rest in chase, and drave them to take their cittie, and dyd shut them up within their owne walles.

Camillus twise chosen Tribune of the souldiers.

The chaunce that happened at the lake of Albanus, about the time the Thuscan warres were greatest, dyd marvelously amate the Romaines, being no lesse wounderfull, then the most straunge and uncrediblest thing that could be tolde by man. For they could not finde out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall grounde: considering it was in the later end of Autumne, and sommer was ended, and that there had not bene much rayne, nor notable sowthe winds. And although there are many lakes, many brooks and rivers, many springs, and other waters in Italie: yet some of them dried up altogether, others ranne but faintely by reason of the drought, and all the rivers then were (as they are wont to be commonly in sommer) very lowe, and there was scant any water. But the lake Albanus contrariwise, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whether out of him selfe, being environned all about with hilles and mountaines, and where the earthe is good: beganne to swell, and rise to every mans sight, without any cause at all (but secret and hidden unto the goddes alone) and went allwayes increasing alongest those hilles sides, untill suche time as it came to be even with the height of the highest mountaine, gathering upwardes still without any waves or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poore shepeheardes and heardemen, keeping their cattell thereaboutes, marvelously affrayed. But at the lengthe when the earthe and weight of one of the hilles (which kepte in the lake as a walle, from running over the felde) beganne to

The wonderfull overflowing of the lake Albanus.

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breake by reason of the waight, and great quantitie of water, that ranne straight with a marvelous extreme force and violence over all the arrable landes and groundes planted with trees, and so tooke his course into the sea: the Romaines then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of Italy were wounderfully affrayed, and judged that it was some signe and prognostication of some wounderfull thing to come. And there was no other newes currante in the campe, which laye at siege of the cittie of Veies: insomuch as the very brute of it flewe over the walles of the cittie, unto them that were besieged. And as it happeneth very ofte in long sieges, that those which lye in campe doe oftentimes talke with them that are besieged: there was a Romaine who fell acquainted, and commonly used to talke familiarly with one of the cittie, who could tell of many olde and straunge things done and happened, and was very skillfull above any other in the cittie, in the arte of divination, or soothesaying. The Romaine then tolde him one daye the violent breaking out of the lake Albanus, and perceyving that the other after he had heard him, was as mery as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their siege: he tolde him further, that this wounderfull chaunce was not only happened unto the Romaines at that time, but that they had bene acquainted with many other farre more straunge then this, which he would very willingly open unto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common weale had but harde successe, yet he would procure that his owne private matters might prosper well with him. The Veian aunswered him, he would heare them with a goodwill, and gave good eare unto him, hoping to have heard some great secret. So the Romaine training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his waye, untill he sawe he was a good distance of from the gates of the cittie, he sodainely cought holde on him, and by strong hand caried him awaye with him, and with helpe of other souldiers which came ronning out of the campe unto him, he brought him to the captaines. The Veian seeing him self thus forciblie used, and knowing also that fatall desteny cannot be avoyded, beganne to declare unto the

The crafte of a Romaine.

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Romaines, the auncient oracles and prophecies touching the fortune of their cittie: by which it was reported unto them, that the cittie of Veies should never be taken, untill the enemie had caused the water of the lake Albanus (which should breake out) to be brought backe againe, and to turne it some other waye from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was caried unto the Senate at Rome, to be consulted of in counsail: and there it was determined they should send to the oracle of Apollo, at the cittie of Delphes, and aske him what they should doe therein. So thither was sent great and notable men, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Politus, and Fabius Ambustus: who having ended their jorney by sea, and receyved aunswer of that they demaunded, returned home againe, and amongest other oracles they brought one that sayed thus: That through negligence they had omitted some auncient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they should by all possible meanes they could, keepe the water of the lake Albanus that it fell not into the sea, and should (if it were possible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be droncke up in the middest of the fields. When these oracles were understanded, the priests prepared all things for divine service, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After these things were done, the Senate in the tenth yere of the warres against the Veians, put of all those which dyd beare office, and created Camillus Dictator, who named for generall of the horse men, Cornelius Scipio. And before he went in hande with any thing, he made a vowe unto the goddes, that if it pleased them to graunte a happy ende of these warres, in honour of them he would celebrate great playes, and buyld a temple unto the goddesse which the Romaines call Matuta: which seemeth to be her whom we call Leucothea, considering the ceremonies done in these sacrifices. For they cause a chamber mayde to enter into her temple, and there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, and doe embrace their brothers children rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they

An oracle brought from Delphes.

Camillus chosen Dictator.

Matuta.

Leucothea.

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are much like unto those that are done unto Bacchus nurces, and to the misfortunes that chaunced unto Ino, by reason of her husbands concubine. After all these vowes and prayers made, he entred with his army into the Falissians territories, whom he overthrewe in a great battell, together with the Capenates also, which came to ayde them. From thence he went to the siege of the cittie of the Veies, where perceyving to take it by assaulte, was not to be wonne without great daunger: he beganne to undermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and with all so deepe, that the enemies could perceyve nothing. Nowe when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gave an assaulte to the walles in all places alike about the cittie at one instante, to bring out all the inhabitants of the cittie to man the walles. Whilest they were all thus upon the walles to make defence: Camillus souldiers entred secretly through the mines within the castell, harde by the temple of Iuno: which was the chiefe Churche of all the cittie, and whereunto the cittizens had most devotion. They saye that even at that present time the generall of the Thuscans dyd sacrifice unto the goddes, and that his soothesayer having considered the intrells of the beastes offered up in sacrifice, cried out alowde, that the goddes gave the victorie unto him, which should happen to come upon them in this sacrifice. The Romaines which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out, crying, and making noyse with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled upon it, and so the Romaines tooke the intrells, and caried them unto Camillus. And these be even much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit Camillus having by this meanes taken the cittie, and seeing from the toppe of the castell the infinite goodes and riches within the cittie, which the souldiers spoyled and made havoke of, he wept for very pittie. And when those that were about him tolde him he was a happy man: he lift up his handes unto heaven, and made this prayer: O mightie god Iupiter, and you O goddes, which see and judge mens good and ill worckes: you knowe right well, that we have not willingly (without wrong and cause

The cittie of Veies taken by mining.

Camillus prayer when Veies was taken.

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offered us) begonne this warre, but justly, and by compulsion, to be revenged of a cittie our enemie, which hath done us great injuries. But if to contervayle this our great good prosperitie, and victorie, some bitter adversitie and overthrowe be predestined unto us: I beseeche you then (most mercifull goddes) in sparing our cittie of Rome, and this her army, you will (with as litle hurte as maye be) let it all fall and light upon my persone alone. And as he had spoken these wordes, and was turning on his right hande (according to the manner of the Romaines after they have prayed unto the goddes) he fell downe flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somwhat troubled with the matter: but after he got up on his feete againe, he tolde them that the thing he requested of the goddes was happened unto him. And that was, a litle hurte, in exchaunge of a great good fortune. So the whole cittie being spoyled and rifled, he was also desirous to carie Iunos image to Rome, to accomplishe the vowe he had made. And having sent for worckemen for this purpose, he dyd sacrifice first unto the goddesse, beseching her to accept well of the Romaines good will, and that she would willingly vowchesafe to come and dwell with the other goddes, who had the protection of the cittie of Rome. Some saye, that the image aunswered, she was contented. But Livius writeth that Camillus made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the assistants aunswered she was contented, and would goe with a goodwill. Yet they which doe affirme, it was the image selfe that spake, doe favour this miracle, grounding their proofe upon the opinion of the fortune of Rome: the which, from so base and meane beginning had impossibly attained unto so highe glorie and power as it had, without the singular favour of the goddes, and that hath manifestly appeared unto the world, by sundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders. As, that images have heretofore let fall droppes of swet from them: that they have bene heard to sighe: that they have turned: and that they have made certen signes with their eyes, as we finde written in many auncient stories. And we could our selves also tell such like wonders, which

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Fayned wonders of images.

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Plutarches judgement of miracles.

we have heard men of our time affirme, which are not uncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for such matters, it is as daungerous to geve to much credit to them, as also to discredit them to much, by reason of the weaknes of mans nature, which hath no certen boundes, nor can rule it self, but ronneth somtimes after vanitie and superstition, and otherwhile also dispiseth and contemneth holy and divine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, and not to goe to farre in this, as in all other things besides, it is the best. Nowe Camillus, whether his late enterprise performed, in winning a cittie that stoode out with Rome, and helde siege with them tenne yeres together, had put him into an overwening or conceipt of him selfe: or that the wordes of the people, which dyd blesse and prayse him, had made him looke highe, and presume upon him selfe, more then became the modestie of a civill magistrate, and governour of the common weale, and one that was subject to the lawe: he

Camillus stately triumphe of the Veians.

shewed a stately triumphe, set forth with all riche furniture, and specially for that him self was caried through Rome upon his triumphant charret drawen with foure fayer white coursers. This, never captaine nor generall before him durst undertake to doe, neither any ever after him attempted it: for they thinke it is a sacred cariage, and only mete for the King, and father of the goddes. This bred him much envy amongest the cittizens, which had not bene acquainted with so great statelynes. There was another occasion also that made them mislike him much: which was, bicause he stood against the lawe put forth that they should devide the cittie of Rome. For the Tribunes of the people dyd set out an

A lawe for the people of Rome to dwell at Veies.

Edict, that the Senate and people of Rome should be devided into two partes: and that those on whom the lotte should fall, should abide still in Rome, and the other should goe dwell in the newe wonne cittie of Veies. These were the reasons to persuade this: that both the one and the other sorte should be richer then they were before, and should more easely keepe their lands and goodes from the invasion of their enemies, by meanes of these two great citties. The people which were multiplied nowe into great numbers, and had served duetifully and daungerously, thought it the best

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waye in the worlde: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with great tumulte, about their pulpit for orations, praying that this lawe might be put unto the voyces of the people. But the whole Senate, and wisest cittizens among them, judging this motion of the Tribunes would be the destruction, and not the division of the cittie of Rome: could in no wise abide it should goe any further. Whereupon they went and prayed Camillus helpe: who fearing to bring it to the pointe, whether the lawe should passe or no, dyd allwayes seeke new occasions and letts, still to delaye and put of the matter, and staye the confirmation of this lawe. For these causes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall and apparant cause of the peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth parte of their spoyles: and it was not altogether without some reason, and to saye truely the people dyd him much wrong to beare him such malice for that. For before he went to the cittie of Veies, he made a solemne vowe to offer the tenth parte unto the goddes, of the spoyles of the cittie, if he wanne the same. But when it was taken and sacked, whether it was that he was lothe to trouble the cittizens, or having a worlde of busines in his head, that he easely forgate his vowe: he suffered the souldiers to devide the spoyle amongest them, and to take the benefit to them selves. Shortely after he was discharged of his charge, he dyd enforme the Senate of his vowe. Furthermore, the soothesayers made reporte at that very time, howe they knewe by certaine signes and tokens of their sacrifices, that the goddes were offended for somwhat, and howe they must of necessitie be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate presently made an order, where it was unpossible every man should bring in againe the selfe same things he had gotten, to make a newe division of every mans share: that every one therefore upon his othe should present the tenthe parte of his gaynes he had gotten by that bootie. There was great trouble about it. They were driven to use great extremitie to the poore souldiers (which had traveled sore, and taken great paynes in the warres) to make them to restore backe such a coloppe out of their gaine, and the rather bicause many of them had already spent it

The chiefest cause of the peoples malice against Camillus.

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every penney: and for this trouble, they all cried out with open mouth against Camillus. But he being set up, and not knowing otherwise howe to excuse him selfe, was forced to bring forth as cold and as unreasonable an excuse as he could make, which was: forsoothe he had forgotten his vowe he had made. The people notwithstanding were eger still against him, saying: howe he had vowed then to offer the tenth parte of the enemies goodes to the goddes, and that nowe he would performe it with the tenthes of the cittizens goodes. Nevertheles, every man having brought that he should for his parte: it was thought good they should cause a massie cuppe of golde to be made, to send to the temple of Apollo at Delphes. And small store of golde being in the cittie of Rome, as the officers of the cittie were serching up and downe to get it: the women of Rome of their owne voluntary willes without motion, agreed among them selves, that they would departe with all the juells they had, towardes the making up of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof, to honour them withall: the Senate ordeined that they should be praysed openly with funerall orations at their buriall, as they dyd use at honorable and noble mens obsequies. For before that lawe, it was not the manner to prayse women openly at their funeralles. Nowe there were appointed three of the noblest men of the cittie to goe to carie this offering, and they sent them out in a galley well manned, stored also with good mariners, and trimly set forth in all triumphing manner: howbeit both in storme, and calme weather, they were in daunger of their lives. For after that they had scaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the winde was downe againe, they fell into another daunger, which they escaped also beyond all hope. For harde by the Iles of Æolus, the gallyes of the Liparians fell upon them, as if they had bene rovers. But when the Liparians sawe they made no resistance, and intreated them, holding up their hands: they gave no further charge upon them, but only fastened their gallye unto theirs. So when they had haled them to the shore, they declared they were pirates, and offered to make porte sale of the men and goodes, as if they had bene a lawfull

A cuppe of golde sent to Delphes.

The ladyes of Rome gave their juells towards the making of it.

What time womens prayses beganne at funeralls in Rome.

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prise: and had solde them in deede, had not the wisedome and authoritie of Timesitheus letted them, who was governour at that time of the cittie, and had great a doe to persuade them to let them goe. And he dyd not so leave them, but sent out certaine of his owne shippes to accompanie them in their jorney, who dyd helpe them to goe and performe their offering. For which curtesie of his, the Romaines afterwardes dyd him great honour at Rome, according to his well deserving. The Tribunes of the people beganne nowe to set a foote againe the lawe for the deviding of the inhabitans of Rome unto the cittie of Veies. But the warres of the Falisces fell out happely at that time, wherby the noble men dyd choose such officers as they would. So they chose Camillus, *Tribunus militaris* of the souldiers, and five other to assiste him, the service in that case requiring a generall, that caried both authoritie and reputation among them, as an olde experienced souldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, Camillus immediatly entred the territories of the Falisces with the Romaines armie, where he layed siege unto the cittie of the Falerians, being very well fortified, vitteled and stored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no small attempt to winne this cittie, and that it would not be done in a shorte time: he pollitikely sought (whatsoever came of it) to keepe his countrimen occupied about some thing, and to staye them for going home, least by repayring to Rome, they should have many occasions to rebell, and raise some civill dissention. For the Romaines dyd wisely use this remedie: to disperse abroade like good phisicians, the humours which troubled the quiet state of their common weale at home. But the Falerians trusting in the situation of their cittie, which was very strong in all partes, made so litle accompt of the siege: that those which kept not watche upon the walles, walked up and downe in their gownes in the cittie, without any weapon about them, and their children went to schoole, the schoolemaster also would commonly leade them abroade out of the cittie a walking, to playe and passe the time by the towne walles. For the whole cittie had one common schoolemaster, as the Grecians

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Camillus chosen Tribune of the souldiers.

Camillus besiegeth the Falerians.

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also have, which doe bring up their children from litle ones in company together, bicause one maye be familiarly acquainted with an other. This schoolemaster spying his time to doe the Falerians a shrewd turne, dyd accustomably take all his scholers out of the cittie with him, to playe, not farre from the walles at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the cittie againe, after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroade thus once or twise, he trayned them out every daye a litle further, to make them to be bolde, persuading them there was no daunger. But at the length, one daye having gotten all the cittizens children with him, he led them within the watche of the Romaines campe, and there delivered all his scholers into their handes, and prayed them they would bring him unto their generall. So they did. And when he came before Camillus, he beganne to tell him that he was schoolemaster unto all these children, nevertheles that he dyd more esteeme to have his grace and favour, then regarde his office he had by this name and title. Camillus hearing what he sayed, and beholding his threacherous parte, he sayed to those that were about him: Warre of it selfe surely is an evill thing, for in warres many injuries and mischieves are done: nevertheles among good men there is a law and discipline, which doth forbid them to seeke victorie by wicked and traiterous meanes, and that a noble and worthie generall should make warre, and procure victorie, by trusting to his own valliantnes, and not by anothers vilenes and villanie. Therefore he commaunded his sergeants to teare the clothes of the backe of this vile schoolemaster, and to binde his hands behinde him: and that they should geve the children roddes and whippes in their handes, to whippe the traitour backe againe into the cittie, that had thus betrayed them, and grieved their parents. Now when the Falerians heard newes that the schoolemaster had thus betrayed them, all the cittie fell a weeping (as every man maye thinke for so great a losse) and men and women ranne together one in anothers necke, to the town walles, and gates of the cittie, like people out of their wittes, they were so troubled. When they came thither, they saw their children bringing their schoolemaster backe againe, starcke

Camillus worthie acte to the schoolemaster, betraying the Falerians children.

A noble saying of Camillus, and wise precept for warres.

Valiantnes to be preferred before vilanie.

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naked and bownde, whipping of him, and calling Camillus their father, their god, and their saviour: so that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the cittizens also in generall, dyd conceyve in them selves a wonderfull admiration and great love, of the wisedome, goodnes, and justice of Camillus. So that even presently they called a counsaill, and there it was concluded they should send ambassadours forthwith unto him, to put their lives and goodes to his mercy and favour. Camillus sent their ambassadours unto Rome, where audience being geven unto them by the Senate, the ambassadours sayed: Bicause the Romaines preferred justice above victorie, they taught them to be better contented to submit them selves unto them, then to be their own men at libertie: confessing their vertue dyd more overcome them, then any force or power could doe. The Senate dispatched letters unto Camillus, giving him commission to doe and determine as he thought good. So he having taken a certen summe of money of the Falerians, dyd furthermore make peace and league with all the rest of the Falisces: and thereupon returned backe againe to Rome. But the souldiers grudged marvelously at it. For they stoode in hope to have had the sacking of the cittie. When there was no remedie, but they must needes returne home emptie handed, they beganne to accuse Camillus to the rest of the cittizens, as sone as they came to Rome, saying: he loved not the common people, and howe for spite he disapointed their army of the spoyle. On the other side, the Tribunes of the people beganne to revive the lawe, for the deviding of the inhabitants of Rome, and were ready to passe it by the voyces of the people. Camillus not fearing the ill will of the commons, dyd boldely speake, and doe in open presence, all he could against it. So that plainely he was the chiefest cause, that the people against their willes (intreate what they could) were driven to let it alone. But withall they were so spitefull against him, that notwithstanding his sorowe and misfortune for the death of his sonne (dying of a sickenes) was great: they would not of malice once take pittie or compassion of him. The losse whereof (albeit he was of a very good and curteous nature) was so

The Faliscians by their ambassadours doe yelde them selves and goodes unto Camillus.

The message of the ambassadours of the Faliscians unto the Romaines.

Camillus tooke a summe of money of the Falerians, and made peace with all the rest of the Falisces.

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grievous, and made him so unquiet: that being accused before the people, he sturred not once out of his house, but was locked up with the women, which lamented for his sonne departed. He that dyd accuse him, was one Lucius Apuleius, burdening him that he had stolen and taken awaye, parte of the spoyle of the Thuscans: and sayed, they had seene certen brasen gates at his house, which had bene brought out of Thuscan. Nowe the people were so maliciously bent against him, that every man might see, if they could once take him in a trippe, upon any advantage whatsoever, they would douteles have condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friendes and souldiers that had served under him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earnestly besought them, that they would not suffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through false and unjust accusations layed against him, nor to be so scorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends having layed their heades together, and consulted thereupon, made him aunswer: howe for his judgment they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned, they would all joyne together with a very goodwill, to helpe to paye his fine. But he being of minde not to beare such an open shame and ignominie, determined in choller to leave the cittie, and to exile him selfe from it. And after he had taken his leave of his wife and children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his house to the gates of the cittie, and sayed never a word. When he came thither, he stayed sodainely, and returning backe againe, he lift up his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers unto the godds: that if it were of very spight and malice, and not of just deserving, that the common people compelled him thus shamefully to forsake the cittie, that the Romaines might quickely repente them, and in the face of the worlde might wishe for him, and have nede of him. After he had made these prayers against the cittizens (as Achilles dyd against the Grecians) he went his way, and was condemned for his contempte, in the summe of fifteene thousand *Asses* of the Romaine coyne, which make of Greekishe money, a thousand five hundred *Drachmas* of silver: for an *As* was a litle pece

Lucius Apuleius accused Camillus.

The equitie of the Romaines who would not pervert the lawe though they dearely loved Camillus: but willingly offered to paye his fine.

Camillus prayer before his departure out of Rome.

Camillus exileth him selfe from Rome.

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of money, wherof tenne of them made a Romaine penney. Howbeit there was not a Romaine of any understanding, but beleeved certenly that some great punishment would followe them incontinently, and that the wrong and injurie they had done him would be quickely requited, with some most sharpe and terrible revenge, not only unpleasaunt to thinke upon, but further most notable to be spoken of through the world. There fell out so sodainely upon it, such mischief toward the cittie of Rome, and the present time also brought forth such occasion of daunger and destruction thereof, to their shame and infamie: that it was uncertaine whether it happened by chaunce, or els it was the handie worcke of some god, that would not suffer vertue recompenced with ingratitude, to passe unrevenged. Their first token that threatned some great mischief to light upon them, was the death of Iulius, one of the Censors: for the Romaines doe greately reverence the office of a Censor, and esteeme it as a sacred place. The seconde token that happened a litle before Camillus exile, was: that one Marcus Cæditius, a man but of meane qualitie, and none of the Senatours (but otherwise a fayer conditioned honest man, and of good conscience) tolde the *Tribuni militares* of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he sayed that the night before, as he was going on his waye in the newe streete, he heard one call him alowde: and returning backe to see what it was, he sawe no living creature, but only heard a voyce bigger then a mans, which sayed unto him: Marcus Cæditius, goe thy waye to morrowe morning to the *Tribuni militares*, and byd them looke quickely for the Gaules. The Tribunes were mery at the matter, and made but a jeast at his warning, and straight after followed the condemnation of Camillus. Nowe as touching the Gaules. They came (as they saye) of the Celtæ, whose country not being able to mainteine the multitudes of them, they were driven to goe seeke other countryes to inhabite in: and there were amongest them many thousands of young men of service and good souldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of these people, some of them went towards the north sea, passing the mountaines Riphei, and dyd dwell in the extreme

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Tokens of the warres of the Gaules.

The originall beginning of the Gaules.

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partes of Europe. Other of them remained betwene the mountaines Pirenei, and the greatest mountaines of the Alpes, neere unto the Senones, and the Celtorii. There they continued a long time, untill they fortuned in the ende to taste of the wine, which was first brought out of Italie unto them. Which drinke they found so good, and were so delited with it, that sodainely they armed themselves: and taking their wives and children with them, they went directly towards the Alpes, to goe seeke out the country that brought forth such fruite, judging all other countries in respect of that, to be but wilde and barren. It is sayed, that the first man which brought wine unto them, and that dyd procure them to passe into Italie, was a noble man of Thuscan called Arron, and otherwise of no ill disposed nature: howbeit he was subject to this misfortune following. He was tutor unto an orphan childe, the richest that was at that time in all the countrie of Thuscan, and of complexion was wonderfull fayer: he was called Lucumo. This orphan was brought up in Arrons house of a childe, and though he was growen to mans state, yet he would not goe from him, fayning he was so well, and to his liking. But in deede the cause was, that he loved his maistres (Arrons wife) whom secretly he had enjoyed a long time, and she him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the ende, love having so possessed them both, that neither parte could withdrawe from other, much lesse culler that they had long enjoyed: the young man stole her away from him, and kept her still by force. Arron put him in sute, but he prevayled not: for Lucumo overweyed him with friends, money, giftes, and charges. But he tooke it so grevously, that he left his country: and having heard talke of the Gaules, he went unto them, and was their guide to bring them into Italie. So they conquered at their first coming all that country which the Thuscans helde in olde time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and stretched out in length from one sea unto the other which environneth Italie, as the names them selves doe witnesse. For they call yet that sea which looketh unto the northe, the Adriatick sea: by reason of a cittie built sometime by the Thuscans, which was called

Arron a Thuscan the procurer of the Gaules comming into Italie.

Lacke of justice, the cause of the destruction and conquest of Thuscan by the Gaules.

The power of the Thuscans in olde time.

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Adria. The other, which lieth directly over against the South, is called the Thuscan sea. All that countrie is well planted with trees, and hath goodly pleasaunt pastures for beastes and cattell to feede in, and is notably watered with goodly ronning rivers. There was also at that time eighteene fayer great cities in that country, all of them very strong and well seated, aswell for to enriche the inhabitants thereof by traffike, as to make them to live delicately for pleasure. All these cities the Gaules had wonne, and had expulsed the Thuscans, but this was done long time before. Now the Gaules being further entred into Thuscan, dyd besiege the cittie of Clusium. Thereupon the Clusians seeking ayde of the Romaines, besought them they would send letters and ambassadours unto these barbarous people in their favour. They sent unto them three of the best and most honorable persones of the cittie, all three of the house of the Fabians. The Gaules receyved them very curteously, bicause of the name of Rome: and leaving to assaulte the cittie, they gave them audience. The Romaine ambassadours dyd aske them, what injurie the Clusians had done unto them, that they came to make warres with them. Brennus king of the Gaules, hearing this question, smiled, and aunswered them thus: The Clusians doe us wrong in this: they being but fewe people together, and not able to occupie much lande, doe notwithstanding possesse much, and will let us have no parte with them, that are straungers, and out of our country, and stande in neede of seate and habitation. The like wrong was offered unto you Romaines in old time, by those of Alba, by the Fidenates, and the Ardeates: and not long sithence, by the Veians, and the Capenates: and partly by the Falisces and the Volsces: against whom ye have taken, and doe take armes, at all times. And as ofte as they will let ye have no parte of their goods, ye imprison their persones, robbe and spoyle their goodes, and distroye their cities. And in doing this, ye doe them no wrong at all, but followe the oldest lawe that is in the worlde, which ever leaveth unto the stronger, that which the weaker can not keepe and enjoye. Beginning with the goddes, and ending with beastes: the which have this propertie in nature, that

Clusium a cittie of Thuscan besieged by the Gaules.

Brennus king of the Gaules.

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the bigger and stronger have ever the vauntage of the weaker and lesser. Therefore, leave your pittie to see the Clusians besieged, least you teache us Gaules to take compassion also of those you have oppressed. By this aunswer the Romaines knewe very wel, there was no waye to make peace with king Brennus. Wherefore they entred into the cittie of Clusium, and incoraged the inhabitants to salye out with them upon these barbarous people: either bicause they had a desire to prove the valliantnes of the Gaules, or els to shewe their owne corage and manhoode. So the cittizens went out, and skirmished with them harde by the walles: in the which one of the Fabians, called Quintus Fabius Ambustus, being excellently well horsed, and putting spurres to him, dyd set upon a goodly bigge personage of the Gaules, that had advaunced him selfe farre before all the troupe of his companions. He was not knowen at the first encounter, as well for the sodaine meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his glistering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had slaine the Gaule, and came to strippe him: Brennus then knewe him, and protested against him, calling the goddes to witnesse, howe he had broken the lawe of armes, that coming as an ambassadour, he had taken upon him the forme of an enemie. Hereupon Brennus forthwith left skirmishing, and raising the seige from Clusium, marched with his army unto Rome gates. And to the ende the Romaines might knowe, that the Gaules were not well pleased for the injurie they had receyved: to have an honest culler to beginne warres with the Romaines, he sent an Herauld before to Rome, to demaunde liverie of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the meane time, he him selfe came marching after, by small journeys to receyve their aunswer. The Senate hereupon assembled, and many of the Senatours blamed the rashnes of the Fabians: but most of all, the priestes called Fæciales. For they followed it very earnestly, as a matter that concerned religion, and the honour of the godds: declaring how the Senate, in discharge of all the residue of the cittie of the offence committed, should laye the whole waight and burden of it upon him alone, that only had done

Fabius Ambustus a Romaine, breaketh the common lawe of all nations.

Brennus reproveth Fabius for breaking the lawe of armes.

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the facte. Numa Pompilius, the justest and most peaceable of all the kings of Rome that had bene, was he that first erected the colledge of these Fæciales, and dyd ordeine that they should be the keepers of peace, and the judges to heare and allowe all the causes, for the which they should justely beginne any warres. Nevertheles, the Senate in the ende turned over the ordering of the matter, unto the whole will and judgment of the people, before whom these priestes Fæciales dyd also accuse Fabius Ambustus. The people made so litle accompt of their propounded religion, and honour of the godds in that case: that in stede of delivering of this Fabius unto the enemy, they dyd choose him for one of the Tribunes of the souldiers with his brothers. The Gaules understanding this, were so furious and angrie thereat, that they would no lenger linger their journeis, but marched with all spede unto Rome. The people that dwelt by the high wayes where they should passe by, were marvelously affrayed to see the multitude of them, and their brave and universall furniture: and beginning to doubt the furie of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroye all the champion country before them, and afterwardes would take all the strong citties. They contrariwise dyd take nothing at all out of the fieldes, neither dyd any hurte or displeasure unto any bodie: but passing by their citties, cried out they went to Rome, and would have no warres but with the Romaines, and howe otherwise they desired to be friendes with all the worlde. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards Rome, the Tribunes of the souldiers brought their army to the field to encounter them. They were no lesse in number then the Gaules, for they were fourty thousand footemen. Howbeit most part of them were rawe souldiers, that had never served in the warres before. They were very careles of the goddes, and dissolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their sacrifices, neither to aske counsaill of their soothesayers, which the Romaines were religiously wont to doe, before they gave any battaill. To make the matter worse: the number of the captaines having power and authoritie alike, dyd asmuche (or more then the rest) disorder and

Numa Pompilius erected the colledge of the Fæciales.

The Gaules marche towards Rome.

The Romaines armie were 40000 footemen.

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To many rulers of an armie, doe confound all order, and putteth the army in perill.

confounde their doings. For ofte times before, in farre lesser matters and daungers then these, they dyd use to chuse speciall officers that had sole and soveraine authoritie, which they called Dictators: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in daungerous times to have but one head and generall, to commaund all, and to have supreme authoritie of justice in his hands, and not to be bound to deliver accompt of his doings to any. The injury also which they had to ungratefully done to Camillus, brought great mischief and inconvenience then upon them. For the captaines after him, durst no more commaunde the people roughly, but ever after dyd flatter them much. When their army was nowe brought into the field, they encamped them selves by a litle river called Allia, about the eleventh stone from Rome, and not farre from the place where the same river falleth into Tyber. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who overthrew them in battell, by their disorder and lacke of government. For the left pointe or winge of their battell was broken of at the first by the Gaules, who charged them so furiously, that they drave them hedlong into the river. The right wing then retiring out of the plain, before they had any charge geven, and having gotten certen hilles hard by them: they had litle hurte, and most of them saving them selves, did recover Rome again. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night unto the cittie of Veies, thinking Rome had bene lost, and all the cittie put to the sword. This overthrowe was on the longest daye in sommer, the moone being at the full: and the daye before fortuned the great slaughter of the Fabians, of the which were slaine by the Thuscans in one daye 300 all of a name. The very daye it self was afterwards called Alliade, of the name of the litle river, by the which the 2 overthrow was geven. But for the difference of dayes, that some of them are naturally unfortunate, or that Heraclitus the philosopher had reason to reprove the poet Hesiodus, for making some days good, and some dayes ill, as though he understood they were not all of one nature: we have written and declared our opinion therof in other places. Yet, bicause the matter delivereth present occasion to speake of

Allia fl.

The battell at the river of Allia where the Gaules wanne the field of the Romaines.

300 of a name slaine in one daye.

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the same, peradventure it wil not be amisse to alleage a few examples of it only. It fortuned the Bœotians on a time to winne two honorable victories, on the first daye of the moneth they call *Hippodromus* (and which the Athenians call *Hecatombæon*) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did still restore the Grecians to their libertie. The first was the battell of Leuctres. The second was the battell of Geraste, which was two hundred yeres before, when they overcame Lattamias, and the Thessalians in battell. The Persians contrarily were overcome in battail by the Grecians, the sixt daye of August, at the jorney of Marathon. The third day, at the battell of Platees. And on the selfe same daye, neere unto Mycala. On the five and twenty daye, at the fight of Arbeles, the Athenians wanne the battell by sea, neere unto Ile of Naxos, under the charge and government of Chabrias, about the full of the moone, in the moneth of August. And on the twenty of the same moneth, they wanne the battell of Salamina: as we have written more amplie in our historie of difference of dayes. The moneth of Aprill also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For Alexander the great, overcame the generall of the king of Persia, at the fielde of Granica, in the sayed moneth. The Carthaginians also were vanquished in Sicile by Timoleon, on the seven and twenty daye thereof. On which daye also it is thought the cittie of Troye was taken: as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus, have written in their histories. Nowe contrariwise. The moneth of Iulye, which the Bœotians call *Panemus*, hath not bene gratious to the Grecians. For on the seven daye of the same, they were overthrowen by Antipater at the battell of Cranon, which was their utter destruction. They had before also lost a battell the same moneth, neere unto the cittie of Chæronea, by king Phillippe. On the same daye also, and in the very self moneth and yere, those which came into Italie with king Archidamus, were slaine every one of them, by the barbarous people of the country. The Carthaginians also feare the seven and twenty daye of the same moneth, as the daye which had before time brought them into many great

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and sorowfull calamities. Contrarilie also, I knowe very well, how about the feast of mysteries, the cittie of Thebes was destroyed by Alexander, and that the Athenians were compelled to receyve a garrison of souldiers into their cittie, about the twenty daye of August, at which time they made the holie procession of the mysteries of Iacchus. And on the self day the Romaines lost their armie, and their generall Cæpio, who was slaine by the Cimbres. And how afterwards under the leading of Lucullus, they overcame Tigranes, and the Armenians. And that Attalus, and Pompey also, dyed both on the selfe same daye they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, unto whom after like revolutions of time, there happened notable chaunces of good or ill. But to returne againe unto our historie. The daye of this overthrowe, is one of those which the Romaines take for one of the unfortunatest dayes that ever came unto them. And by reason of that day, they reckon two other dayes of every moneth very unfortunate, engendred through feare and superstition, which spreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) upon such sinister misfortunes. But for this matter, we have written it more largely and exquisitly in the booke we made, of the ceremonies and customes of the Romaines. Now after this battell lost, if the Gaules had hottely pursued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could have saved Rome from being taken, and the inhabitants therof from being put unto the sword. For the Romaines that fled from the battell, brought such a feare upon those that receyved them, and filled the whole cittie of Rome with such greif and trembling: that they wist not what to doe. The barbarous people againe, beleeving litle their victorie was so great as it was, fell to make good cheere for so great a joye received, and devided among them the spoyle of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gave they time and leysure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of Rome, to seeke them some place of safety: and to such as remained still, they left good hope to save them selves, and to make some provision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified them selves within mount Capitoll, and storing it with all kind of

The Romaines superstition in observing of dayes.

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vitaill, armor, and munition, they wholy dyd forsake the rest of the cittie. But the first worke they tooke in hande was this. They dyd bring into their sayed forte, parte of their sacred relickes: and the professed Vestalls brought thither also their holy fire and all other their holy monuments. Some writers saye, that they had nothing els in keeping, but the sempiternall fyer, and were so consecrated by king Numa, who dyd first institute, that the fyer should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the most motive and quickest substance that is of all naturall things: notwithstanding, that generation also is a moving, or at the least not done without motion. For we see, that all other substance which lacketh heate, remaineth idle, and without action, and sturreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craveth the force and heate of fyre: as the soule it selfe recovering heate, beginneth somewhat to move, and disposeth it selfe to doe, and suffer some thing. Wherefore Numa being (as they saye) a man of great learning and understanding, who for his wisedome was reported to talke many times with the Muses, dyd consecrate the same as a most sacred thing, and commaunded that they never should suffer that fyre to goe out, and but keepe it, as they would preserve the lively image of the eternall God, the only King and maker of the worlde. Other saye, that the fyer burned continually there before the holy and sacred things, signifying a kinde and manner of purification, which opinion the Grecians holde also: howbeit behinde the same fyer, there were certen hidden things, which in no case any might see, but those holy Vestall Nunnes. Many also holde an opinion, that the Palladium of Troye (as much to say, as Pallas image) is hidden also there, which was brought by Æneas into Italie. Other doe reporte also, that Dardanus, at that time when he first beganne to buylde the cittie of Troye, brought thither the holy images of the goddes of Samothracia, and he dyd offer them up there: and howe Æneas after the cittie was taken, dyd steale them awaye, and kept them untill he came to dwell in Italie. Some other also, that take upon them to knowe more therein then the common sorte, doe holde opinion, that there are two

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The holy fier.

The force of fyer.

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pipes not very great, whereof the one is emptie and standeth open, the other is full and fast locked up, howbeit they are not to be seene but by these holy Nunnes. Other thincke also, that these imaginers invented that they spake of their owne heads, bicause the Vestall Nunnes dyd cast all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the grounde, within the temple of Quirinus: and herefore that very place carieth the surname at this daye of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the most precious things they had, and fled alongest the river. Where one Lucius Albinus (one of the common people) flying also, and having brought away his wife and litle children, and other household stuffe he had in a carte, by chaunce he lighted upon the Vestall Nunnes in the waye. But so sone as he perceyved these holy Nunnes (carying the blessed relickes and juells in their armes, dedicated unto the service of the goddes) all alone, and that they were wearie with going a foote: he caused his wife and his children to come out of the carte, and tooke downe all his goodes also, and willed them to get them up, and flye into some cittie or towne of Grece. Thus, me thought I could not well passe over with silence, Albinus reverence and devotion he shewed unto the goddes, in so daungerous a time and pinche of extremitie. Furthermore the priests of other goddes, and the most honorablest olde men of the cittie of Rome (that had bene Consuls before time, or had past the honour of triumphe) had not the harte to forsake Rome: but putting on all their most holy robes and vestments dyd vowe, and as it were willingly sacrificed them selves unto the fortune that should befall them, for the safety of their countrie. And using certain words and prayers which their high bishoppe Fabius had taught them, they went even thus apparelled into the great market place, and dyd sit them downe there, in chayers of ivory, expecting the good will and pleasure of the godds what should become of them. But with in three dayes after, Brennus came to Rome with his army: who finding the gates of the cittie all open, and the walles without watche, he dowted some devise in it, and feared some privie ambush had bene layed, as one hardly beleeving to

Fabius chief bishoppe of Rome.

Rome taken of the Gaules.

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have found the Romaines of so base a mind, as to forsake their cittie. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into Rome by the gate Collina, and tooke the same, litle more then three hundred and three score yeres after it was first builded: if it be true at the least there hath remained any certen chronicles of those times unto this present daye, considering the trouble and confusion of that time hath made many things more uncerteine then that, dowtefull unto us. But so it was, that the rumor ranne to Grece incontinently howe Rome was taken, but yet withall somwhat doubtefully and uncertainely. For Heraclides Ponticus (who was about that time) sayeth in a certen booke he wrote of the soule, that there was newes come from the West parte, that an armie which came from the Hyperborians, had taken a cittie of Grece called Rome, situated in that country neere the great sea. But I wonder not that Heraclides (who hath written so many other fables and lyes) dyd amplifie the true newes of the taking of Rome, with adding to of his owne devise, of the Hyperborians, and by the great sea. It is a most true tale, that Aristotle the philosopher had certain knowledge it was taken by the Gaules: howbeit he sayeth also it was recovered againe afterwards by one called Lucius: where in deede it was, by Marcus Camillus, and not by Lucius. But all this in manner is spoken by conjecture. Moreover, Brennus being entred Rome, dyd appointe parte of his souldiers to besiege those which were gotten into mount Capitoll. And he with the residue of his armie, marched on towards the market place: where when he saw the auncient Senatours set so gravely in their chayers, and spake never a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw their enemies come armed towards them, neither chaunged countenance, nor culler at all, but leaned softely on their staves they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing affrayed nor abashed, but looked one upon another, he marvelously wondred at it. This their so straunge manner at the first dyd so dampe the Gaules, that for a space they stoode still, and were in doubte to come neere to touche them, fearing least they had bene some goddes: untill suche time, as one of them went boldely unto Marcus Papyrius,

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Aristotles testimonie of the taking of Rome.

The majestie of the olde Senatours set in the market place of Rome.

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and layed his hand fayer and softely upon his long bearde. But Papyrius gave him such a rappe on his pate with his staffe, that he made the bloud ronne about his eares. This barbarous beaste was in such a rage with the blowe, that he drue out his sworde, and slewe him. The other souldiers also killed all the rest afterwardes: and so the Gaules continued many dayes spoyling and sacking all thinges they founde in the houses, and in the ende dyd set them all a fyer, and destroyed them every one, for despite of those that kept the forte of the Capitoll, that would not yeld upon their summons, but valliantly repulsed them when they scaled the walles. For this cause they rased the whole cittie, and put all to the sworde that came in their handes, young and olde, man, woman, and childe. Nowe this siege continuing long, and the Romaines holding them out very stowtely, vittells beganne to growe scante in the campe of the Gaules, in so much as they were driven of force to seeke it abroade without the cittie. Hereupon they devided them selves, whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitoll: and the rest went a forraging, and spoyling all the champion countrie and villages thereaboutes, scattered as it were by bandes and companies, some here, some there, fearing nothing, nor passing upon watch or warde, they lived in suche securitie of their victorie. Howbeit the greatest company amongest them, went by fortune towardes the cittie of Ardea, where Camillus dwelt, living like a private man, medling with no matters of state from the time of his exile, untill that present time. But then he beganne not to bethinke him self as a man that was in safety, and might have escaped the handes of his enemies, but rather sought to devise and finde out all the meanes he could to subdewe them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, considering that the inhabitants of Ardea were enough in number to set upon them, although faynte harted, and cowardly, by reason of the slouth and negligence of their governours and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: he beganne to cast out these words among the young men. That they should not thinke the Romaines misfortune fell upon them, through the valliantnes of the Gaules, nor that

The cittie of Rome rased by the Gaules.

The citie of Ardea.

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their calamitie (who had refused good counsaill) had happened unto them by any worke or acte of the Gaules, having done nothing for their parte to make them carie awaye the victorie: but that they should thinke, it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes shewe her power. Therefore, that it were nowe a notable and honorable enterprise (although somewhat daungerous) to drive these straungers and barbarous people out of their countrie: considering that the only ende of their victorie was, but to destroye and consume as fire, all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good lusty harte and corage unto them, he would with opportunitie, and place, assure them the victorie, without any daunger. The young men were pleased with these words of life and comforte. Whereupon Camillus went to breake the matter also unto the magistrates and counsellours: and having drawen them by persuasion unto this enterprise, he armed all that were of age to carie armor, and would not suffer a man to goe out of the cittie, for feare least the enemies (which were not farre of) should have intelligence of the same. Now after the Gaules had ronne over all the champion countrie, and were loden with all sorts of spoyles, they did encampe them selves negligently in open fields, and never charged watch nor warde: but having their full cariage of wine layed them down to slepe, and made no noyse at all in their campe. Camillus being advertised therof by his severall skowtes, caused the Ardeans with as little noyse as might be, forthwith to goe out into the fields: and having marched somwhat roundly the distance betwene the cittie, and the campe of the Gaules, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his soldiers make great showtes and cries, and the trumpets to be sounded on every side, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the lowde noyse they made, could hardly be made to wake, they were so deadly dronke. Yet there were some notwithstanding, that for feare to be taken tardy, dyd bustle up at this sodaine noyse: and coming to them selves, fell to their weapons to resist Camillus, which were slayne by and by. The rest, and the greatest number of them, laye here and there scattered in

Camillus wordes unto the Ardeans in excuse of the Romaines.

Camillus persuadeth the Ardeans to take armes against the Gaules.

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Camillus slue the Gaules hard by Ardea.

the middest of the field, without any weapon, dead a sleepe, starcke droncke with wine, and were put to the sworde, and never strake stroke. Those that fled out of the campe that night (which were but fewe in number) were overthrowen also the next daye, by the horse men which followed and killed them, as they tooke them straggling here and there in the fieldes. The brute of this victorie was blowen abroade incontinently through all the townes and villages thereabouts, which caused many young men to come and joyne them selves to Camillus: but specially the Romaines desired the same, that had saved them selves in the cittie of Veies, after the battell lost at Allia, who made their mones amongest them selves there, saying: O goddes, what a captaine hath fortune taken from the cittie of Rome? What honour hath the cittie of Ardea by the valliantnes and worthy deedes of Camillus: and in the meane season, his naturall cittie that brought him forth, is now lost, and utterly destroyed? We, for lacke of a captaine to leade us, are shut up here within others walles, and doe nothing but suffer Italie in the meane space to goe to ruine, and utter destruction before our eyes. Why then doe we not send to the Ardeans for our captaine? or why doe we not arme our selves, to goe unto him? For he is nowe no more a banished man, nor we poore cittizens: since our cittie is possessed with the forein power, of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counsaill, and sent unto Camillus to beseche him to be their captaine, and leade them. But he made aunswer, he would in no case consent unto it, unles they that were besieged in the Capitoll had lawfully first confirmed it by their voyces. For those (sayed he) so long as they remaine within the cittie, doe represent the state and bodie thereof. Therefore if they commaunded him to take this charge upon him, he would most willingly obey them: if otherwise they misliked of it, that then he would not medle against their good willes and commaundement. They having receaved this aunswer, there was not a Romaine amongest them, but greatly honored and extolled the wisedome and justice of Camillus. But nowe they knewe not how to make them privie to it, that were besieged in the Capitoll: for they

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sawe no possibilitie to convey a messenger to them: considering the enemies were lordes of the cittie, and layed seige to it. Howbeit there was one Pontius Cominius amongest the young men (a man of a meane house, but yet desirous of honour and glory) that offered him self very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them which were besieged, for feare least they might be intercepted, and so they should discover Camillus intention: but putting on an ill favoured gowne upon him, he conveyed certen peces of corcke under it, and traveling at none dayes kept on his waye without feare, untill he came to Rome, bringing darke night with him. And bicause he could not passe over the bridge, for that the Barbarous people kept watche upon it: he wrapped such clothes as he had, about his necke (which were not many, nor heavy) and tooke the river, and swimming with these corcks he had brought, at the length he got over to the other side where the cittie stoode. Then taking up those lanes allwayes where he thought the enemies were not, seeing fire, and hearing noyse in other places, he went to the gate Carmentale, where he found more silence then in other places: on the which side also, the hill of the Capitoll was more stepe and upright, by reason of the great rocks that were harde to clime up upon. But he digged and crept up so long amongest them, that he got up with great payn unto the wall of the fortresse, on the which side also the enemie kept no watch: and saluting the watche of the Capitoll, he told them what he was. So they plucked him up unto them, and brought him to the magistrates that ruled then. Who caused the Senate to assemble presently, unto whom he told the newes of Camillus victorie, which they had not heard of before: and therewith also he dyd declare unto them, the determination of the Romaine souldiers that were abroade, which was, to make Camillus their captaine and general, and did persuade them also to graunt him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whom the cittizens gave their consents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitoll, consulted thereupon amongest them selves, and so did chuse Camillus Dictator, and returned the messenger

Pontius Cominius got up into the Capitoll at Rome.

Camillus chosen Dictator the second time.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

Pontius Cominius backe againe, the self same way he came unto them. His fortune in returning backe, was like unto his coming thither: for the enemies never sawe him. And so he brought reporte unto them that were abroad, of the Senates decree and consent, whereof they all were marvelous glad. Thus came Camillus to take this charge of generall upon him, and found there were twenty thousand good fighting men abroade, and well armed. Then got he further ayde also of their allies and confederates, and prepared daylie to goe and set upon the enemies. So was Camillus chosen nowe Dictator the seconde time, and went unto the cittie of Veies, where he spake with the Romaine souldiers that were there, and leavied a great number of the allies besides, to goe fight with the enemies as sone as he could. But whilest Camillus was thus a preparing, certen of the Barbarous people in Rome, walking out by chaunce on that side of the Capitoll where Pontius Cominius had gotten up the night before: spied in divers places the printes of his feete and hands, as he had griped and gotten holde, still digging to get up, and sawe the weedes and erbes also growing upon the rocks, and the earth in like manner, flat troden down. Whereupon they went presently unto the King, to let him understande the same: who forthwith came to vewe the place. And having considered it well, he dyd nothing at that time: but when darke night was come, he called a companie of the lightest Gaules together, and that used most to digge in mountaines, and sayed unto them: Our enemies them selves doe shew us the waye how to take them, which we could not have founde out but by them selves. For they having gone up before us, doe geve us easely to understande, it is no impossible thing for us to clime up also. Wherefore, we were utterly shamed, having already begonne well, if we should fayle also to end well: and to leave this place as unvincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to clime up to the height thereof: much lesse is it harde for many to get up one after another, so that one doe helpe another. Therefore Syrs, I assure you, those that doe take paynes to get up, shalbe honorably rewarded, according to their just deserte. When the King had spoken these wordes unto the Gaules, they fell

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to it lustely every man to get up: and about midnight, they beganne many of them to digge, and make stepps up to the rocke one after another, as softly as could possibly, with catching holde the best they could, by the hanging of the rocke, which they found very steepe, but nevertheles easier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formest of them being come to the toppe of the rocke, were now ready to take the walle, and to set upon the watche that slept: for there was neither man nor dogge that heard them. It chaunced then there were holy gese kept in the temple of Iuno, which at other times were wont to be fed till their croppes were full: but vittells being very straite, and scante at that time even to finde the men, the poore gese were so hard handled, and so litle regarded, that they were in manner starved for lacke of meate. This fowle in deede naturally is very quicke of hearing, and so is she also very fearefull by nature: and being in manner famished with their harde allowance, they were so much the more waking, and easier to be afrayed. Upon this occasion therfore, they heard the comming of the Gaules, and also beganne to ronne up and downe and crie for feare: with which noyse they did wake those that were within the castell. The Gaules being bewrayed by these foolishe gese, left their stealing upon them, and came in with all the open noyse and terrour they could. The Romaines hearing this larum, every man tooke such weapon as came first to his hand, and they ranne sodainely to rescue that place from whence they understoode the noyse: among those, the formest man of all was Marcus Manlius, a man that had bene Consul, who had a lusty bodye, and as stowte a harte. His happe being to mete with two of the Gaules together, as one of them was lifting up his axe to knocke him on the head, he prevented him, and strake of his hand with his sword, and clapt his target on the others face so fiercely, that he threwe him backward down the rocke: and comming afterwards unto the walle with others that ranne thither with him, he repulsed the rest of the Gaules that were gotten up, who were not many in number, neither did any great acte. Thus the Romaines having escaped this daunger, the next morning they threw

The Gaules clime up to the Capitoll in the night.

The holy gese saved the Capitoll.

Marcus Manlius repulsed the Gaules from the Capitoll.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

the captaine hedlong down the rocks from the castell, who had charge of the watche the night before: and gave Manlius in recompence of the good service he had done, a more honorable then profitable rewarde, which was this. Every man of them gave him halfe a pound of the country wheate, which they call *Far*, and the fourth parte of the measure of wine, which the Grecians call *Cotile*: and this might be about a quarte, being the ordinary allowance of every man by the daye. After this repulse, the Gaules beganne to be discoraged, partely for that their vitailles fayled them, and durst no more forage abroade in the fieldes for scare of Camillus: and partly also for that the plague came amongest them, being lodged amongest heapes of dead bodies, lying in every place above ground without buriall, and amongest burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes being blowen very high by the winde and vehemency of heate, dyd geve a drie persing ayer, that dyd marvelously poyson their bodies when they came to drawe in the breathe of it. But the greatest cause of all their mischief was, the chaunge of their wonted dyet. Who comming out of a freshe countrie, where there were excellent pleasaunt places to retire unto, to avoyde the discommoditie of the parching heate of the sommer, were nowe in a naughty plaine countrie for them to remaine in, in the latter season of the yere. All these things together dyd heape diseases upon them, besides the long continuaunce of the siege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the seventh moneth) by reason whereof there grewe a marvelous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that dyed daylie, and laye unburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the Gaules, the poore besieged Romaines were nothing holpen the more, the famine still dyd growe so fast upon them. And bicause they could heare nothing of Camillus, they were growen almost unto a despaire: and send unto him they could not, the Gaules kept so straight watche upon them in the cittie. Whereupon both parties finding them selves in harde state, first the watche of either side beganne to cast out wordes of peace amongest them selves: and afterwards by consent of the heades, Sulpitius, Tribune of the souldiers, came to

The Gaules vexed with the plague at Rome.

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parle with Brennus. In which parle it was articled: that the Romaines should paye a thousand pounde weight of golde, and that the Gaules should incontinently after the receipt of the same, departe out of their cittie, and all their territories. This decree being passed by othe from both, the golde was brought. And when it came to be weyed, the Gaules at the first prively beganne to deale falsely with them: but afterwardes they openly stayed the ballance, and would not let them waye no more, whereat the Romaines beganne to be angrie with them. Then Brennus, in scorne and mockery, to despight them more, pluckt of his sworde, girdell and all, and put it into the ballance where the gold was wayed. Sulpitius seeing that: asked him what he ment by it? Brennus aunswered him: What canne it signifie els, but sorrowe to the vanquished? This worde ever after ranne as a common proverbe in the peoples mouthes. Some of the Romaines tooke this vile parte of theirs in such scorne, that they would needes take the gold from them againe by force, and so returne into their holde, to abide the siege still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it best with pacience to put up this scorne of theirs, and not to thincke it was a shame to paye more then they had promised: but only to paye it by compulsion as they dyd, by misfortune of time, was to thincke it rather necessary, then honorable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aswell amongest them selves, as with the Gaules: Camillus came to Rome gates with his armie, and understanding all what had passed betweene them, he commaunded the rest of the army to marche fayer and softely after him in good order, and he in the meane season with the best choyse men he had, went before with all speede. Assone as the other Romaines within the cittie had spied him, they showted out for joye, and receaved him every one with great reverence, without any more wordes, as their soveraine captaine and prince, who had power over them all. And Camillus taking the golde out of the skales, gave it unto his men, and commaunded the Gaules presently to take up their skales, and to get them going: for, sayeth he, it is not the Romaines manner to keepe their countrie

FURIUS CAMILLUS

The Romaines went about to redeeme their libertie of the Gaules with golde.

Camillus came to Rome with his army

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

with golde, but with the sworde. Then Brennus beganne to be hotte, and tolde him it was not honorably done of him, to breake the accorde that had passed betweene them before by othe. Whereunto Camillus stowtely aunswered him againe, that accorde was of no validitie. For he being created Dictator before, all other officers and magistrates whatsoever, and their actes, by his election were made of no authoritie: and seeing therefore they had delte with men, that had no power of them selves to accorde to any matter, they were to speake to him, if they required ought. For he alone had absolute authoritie to pardone them if they repented, and would aske it: or els to punishe them, and make their bodies aunswer the damages and losse his cuntry had by them susteyned. These wordes made Brennus madde as a march hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their swordes of all sides, and layed lustely one at an other as they could, within the houses, and in open streetes, where they could set no battell in order. But Brennus sodainely remembring him selfe that it was no even matche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had lost many of his people. The next night following, he departed out of Rome with all his army, and went to encampe him self about a three score furlong from thence, in the highe way that goeth towards the cittie of the Gabians. Camillus with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, and showed at his campe by the breake of daye. The Romaines having taken harte againe unto them, dyd lustely geve them battell: the same continued longe, very cruell and doubtefull, untill the Gaules at the length were overthrowen, and their campe taken with great slaughter. As for those that dyd escape the furie of the battell, they were killed, some by the Romaines selves, who hottely followed the chase after the battell broken: the residue of them, and the greatest parte, were slaine by those of the citties and villages neere abouts, that dyd set upon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the cittie of Rome straungely againe recovered, that was before straungely wonne and lost, after it had continued seven moneths in the handes of the barbarous people.

Camillus speaketh stowtely to Brennus king of the Gaules.

Camillus overthroweth the armie of the Gaules.

Rome was 7 moneths in the handes of the Gaules.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

For they entred Rome about the fiftenth daye of Iulye: and they were driven out againe, about the thirtenth daye of Februarye following. So Camillus triumphed as beseemed him, and as one that had saved and delivered his countrie out of the handes of their enemies, and set Rome againe at libertie. Those that had bene abroade all the time of this siege, came into Rome againe, following his triumphing charret: and those that had bene besieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to have dyed by famin) went and presented them selves before him, and eche one embraced other, in weeping wise for joye. The priestes and ministers of the temples also, presented their holy juells, whole and undefaced, which some of them had buried in the ground within the cittie selfe: and others some had caried awaye with them, when they fled out of Rome. All these the people dyd as gladly see, as if the goddes them selves had returned home againe into their cittie. After they had sacrificed unto the goddes, and rendred them most humble thankes, and had purged their cittie, as they had bene taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the goddes: Camillus beganne againe to buylde up the temples that were there before, harde by the which he buylt another newe one also to the god Aius Locutius, in that very place where Marcus Ceditius heard the voyce warne him of the coming of the Gaules. So by Camillus good diligence, and the priestes great paynes and travaill, the situations of these temples were with muche a doe founde out againe. But when they were to buylde againe all the rest of the cittie, that was wholy burnt, and destroyed to the grounde: the people had no minde to it, but ever shrinked backe, to put any hande to the worcke, for that they lacked all thinges necessarie to beginne the same. Furthermore, waying their late and long susteined trouble and miseries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to beginne newe labour and toyle, to kill their hartes and bodies altogether. For, neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reache to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their mindes to dwell in the cittie of Veies, which remained whole, untouched, and furnished of all thinges to receave

Camillus triumphed of the Gaules.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

The busie headed Orators stirre the people to tumulte against Camillus.

them: they delivered to the pratling Orators (whose tongues dyd never cease to speake *placentia* to the people) trimme occasion to set this matter abroache. So they gave good eare, and were willing to heare certen seditious wordes spoken against Camillus, which were these. That for his private ambition he would deprive them of a cittie well furnished already, and would against their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houses, wholy burnt and pulled downe. And moreover, how he would make them to rayse up againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the ende the people might call him, not only captaine and generall of the Romaines, but the founder of Rome also, and so drown Romulus honorable title thereof. The Senate considering of this matter, and fearing some tumulte among the people:

Camillus Dictatorshippe proroged.

they would not suffer Camillus to leave his Dictator shippe before the ende of the yere, notwithstanding no man ever enjoyed that office above sixe moneths. Then Camillus for his parte dyd much endevour him selfe, to comforte and appease the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and

Camillus persuaded the people what he could to dwell in Rome, and to leave Veies.

further pointed with his finger unto the graves of their auncesters, and put them in minde also of the holy places dedicated to the goddes, and sanctified by king Numa, or by Romulus, or by other Kings. But amongest many other tokens drawen out of holy and divine things, he forgate not to bring for example, the heade of a man founde newe and freshe, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as if that place by fatall desteny had bene once chosen to be the heade and chief of all Italie. And moreover, that the holy fyer of the goddesse Vesta (which sence the warres had bene kindled againe by the holy Vestall Nunnes) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forsake their naturall cittie, besides the great shame and dishonour it would be unto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by unknowne straungers, or els to be left a common field and pasture, for beastes and cattell to graze in. Such sorowfull examples and griefes, the honest naturall borne cittizens, dyd ever blowe into the peoples eares, aswell privately, as openly. The people againe to the contrarie, dyd make their hartes to yerne for pittie, when they layed before their eyes their

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penurie, and povertie they susteined: and besought them also not to enforce them to gather and joyne together againe the broken peces of a spoyled cittie (as of a shippe-wracke that had cast them naked into the sea, having only saved bare life and persones) sence that they had another cittie neere at hande and ready to receave them. So Camillus counsell was, that the Senate should consulte upon this matter, and deliver their absolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this counsell, he him self brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leave in any case, the place of their naturall birth and country: and so dyd many other Senatours in like case, favoring that opinion. Last of all, after these persuasions, he commaunded Lucius Lucretius (whose manner was to speake first in such assemblies) that he should stand up and deliver his opinion, and that the rest also in order as they sat, should saye their mindes. So every man keeping silence, as Lucretius was ready to speake, at that present time there passed by their counsaill house, a captaine with his bande that warded that daye, who spake alowde to his ensigne bearer that went formest, to staye, and set downe his ensigne there: for, sayed he, here is a very good place for us to warde in. These wordes being heard up into the Senate house, even as they stoode all in a doubte and maze what would be the resolution of this matter: Lucretius beganne to saye, that he most humbly thancked the goddes, and allowed of the captaines judgment, and so every one of the rest in their order, sayed as much. Moreover there was a wonderfull chaunge and alteration of minde sodainely among the common people: for every man dyd persuade and encorage his fellowe lively to put his hand to this worke. Insomuch as tarying for no division or appointing out of streetes, nor setting out every man his place he should builde in: they fell to worke of all handes, everie one chosing that place he liked best, and was most commodious for their building, without any other order or division amongest them. Whereupon, they ronning to this building on a head, the streetes were confused on heapes together, and their houses all built out of order and uniformitie. For the reporte goeth, that the whole cittie

FURIUS CAMILLUS

Rome is built againe.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

Rome was newe built againe in a yere.

(as well common as private buildings) was built up new againe in a yere. But the surveyours, to whom Camillus had geven charge to finde out all the holy places where the temples had bene overthrowen: as they went about mount Pallatine, they came by chaunce to the place, where the chappell of Mars had stoode, which the Gaules had wholy burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making cleane the place, and surveying every corner, dyd finde by chaunce Romulus augures crooked staffe hidden under a great mount of ashes. This staffe is crooked at one of the endes, and they call it *Lituus*, which soothesayers doe use to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will beholde the flying of birdes to tell of things to come. Romulus that was very skillfull in this arte, dyd use this staffe: and after he was taken awaye from all mens sights, the priests tooke it, and kept it as a holy relicke, suffering no creature to laye hands on it. Nowe they founde this staffe whole and unbroken, where all things els were consumed and perished by fire, they were in a marvelous joye thereat. For they interpreted this to be a signe, of the everlasting continuaunce of the cittie of Rome. But before they could make an ende of all their building, there grewe a newe warre againe upon them. For at one very instante, all the Æques, the Volsces, and the Latines, entred with all their might and mayne into the territories of the Romaines. The Thuscans also went then and besieged Sutrium, that was in league and amitie with the Romaines. The *Tribuni militares* got them straight to the field with their armie, and encamped about mount Martian. The Latines besieged them so straightely, that their army stoode in great daunger to be overthrowen, and they were driven to sende to Rome for a newe supplie. Thereupon the Romaines dyd choose Camillus Dictator againe the third time. The occasion of this warre is reported two manner of wayes: whereof I will declare the first, which I doe conceyve to be but a tale. They saye the Latines sent unto the Romaines, to demaunde some of their free maydes in mariage: which they dyd either to make a quarell of warre, or els as desirous in deede, to joyne both the peoples againe by newe mariages. The

Romulus augures staffe founde hole after Rome was burnt.

Camillus chosen Dictator the third time.

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Romaines were amased very much at this, and sore troubled, as not knowing howe to aunswer them, they were so affrayed of warres. For they were scante newe setled at home, and dreaded much lest this demaunde of their daughters, was but a summons made to geve them hostages, which they finely cloked under the name of alliance in mariage. Some saye that there was at that time a bonde mayde called Tutola, or as some saye, Philotis, that went unto the Senate, and counselled them they should sende her awaye with some other fayer maydes slaves, dressed up like gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this devise, and chose such a number of bonde maydes as she desired to have, and trimming them up in fine apparell, begawded with chaines of golde and juells, they sent them forth to the Latines, who were encamped not farre from the cittie. When night was come, the other maydes hyd their enemies swords. But this Tutola, or Philotis (call her as you will) dyd clime up to the toppe of a wilde figge tree, from which she shewed a burning torche unto the Romaines, having made shifte to hange somwhat behinde her, to keepe the light from sight of the enemies. For this signall the Senate of Rome had secretly appointed her to set up, which was the cause that the issuing out of the souldiers being commaunded to goe out in the night, was full of trouble and tumulte. For being pressed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was great a doe to put them into order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies sleeping, who nothing mistrusting the same, were slaine the most parte of them within their campe. This was done on the fifte day of the moneth called *Quintilis*, and now is named *Iulye*: at which time they doe yet celebrate a certaine feast in remembraunce of that acte. For first of all, going out of the citie, they call alowde many of their fellowes names which are most common: as Caius, Marcus, and Lucius, showing thereby howe one of them called another after that sorte, as they went in great haste out of the cittie. Afterwardes all the mayde servauntes of the cittie being trimmely apparelled, goe playing up and downe the towne, pleasauntly jeasting with those they mete: and in the ende

Tutola, or Philotis craft and subtiltie.

Rome delivered from warres by Tutola the bondmayde.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

The maydens feaste, called *Nonæ Capratinæ.*

they make as though they fought together, in token that they dyd helpe the Romaines at that time to destroye the Latines. Then they are feasted, sitting under bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feaste daye is called, *Nonæ Capratinæ*, by reason of the wilde figge tree (as some thincke) from the toppe whereof, the bonde mayde shewed to the Romaines the burning torche. For the Romaines call the wilde figge tree, *Caprificus.* Other saye, that all these things are done and spoken, in remembrance of the mischaunce that happened unto Romulus, when he was taken out of their sight, the same day without the gats of the citty, at which time there rose a sodain miste and darke clowd. Or as some other saye, that then was the eclypse of the sunne: and they holde opinion that the day was named *Nonæ Capratinæ*, bicause *Capra* in the Romain tongue, signifieth a goate. Romulus vanished out of mens sightes, as he was making an oration unto his people, neere unto the place which is called goate marshe, as we have mentioned more at large in his life. The 2 occasion and beginning of this warre (according to the opinion of most writers) was, that Camillus being chosen Dictator the third time, and knowing that the *Trib. militares* with their army were straightly besieged by the Latines, and Volsces: he was inforced to arme all the olde men, who for very age were priviledged from further service in warres. And having fetched a great compasse about mount Martian, bicause he would not be seene of his enemies, he came to lodge his campe behind them, where he raised fiers, to make the Romaines knowe that were besieged, how he was come: which as sone as they perceived, they tooke to them corage again, and determined to fight. But the Latines and Volsces kept within their campe, and dyd entrenche and fortifie them selves with a wall of wodd, which they layed a crosse, bicause they saw they were beset both before and behind: and determined to tary the releefe of a new supply, as well of their owne, as of some further ayde besides from the Thuscans, which thing Camillus perceaving, and fearing least they should serve him, as he had already handled them by compassing of him again behind: he thought it necessary to prevent this. So con-

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sidering the inclosure and fortification of their campe was all of wodde, and that every morning commonly, there came a great winde from the side of the mountaines, he made provision of a number of fire brandes. And leading out his armie into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one parte of them to geve charge upon the enemies on the one side, with great noyse and showting: and he with the other parte determined to rayse fier on the contrary side, from whence the winde should come, looking for oportunitie to doe the same. When he sawe the sunne up, and the winde beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the side of the hilles, and that the skirmishe was begonne on the other side: then he gave a signall unto the companie he led with him, to set upon the enemies, and made them throwe into the inclosure of their campe, divers potts and dartes with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catche holde of, in this inclosure of wodde, and trees layed overthwart, dyd raise straight an exceding great flame in the ayer, and still got waye inwards into the Latines campe. Whereupon the Latines being unprovided of present remedy to quenche the flame, and seeing their campe a fyre all about their eares: they gathered them selves together at the first in a very small roome. Nevertheles, they were inforced in the ende to get them into the field, and there they founde their enemies ready armed, and in battell raye. So as fewe of those escaped that came into the field, and their fellowes that remained within their campe, were burnt to death with fyer, untill the Romaines them selves came to quench it for greedines of their spoyle and goodes. When all this was done, Camillus left his sonne in the campe, to keepe the prisoners and spoyles: and he him self, with the rest of the armie, went to invade his enemies contrie, where he tooke the cittie of Æques. Then after he had overcome the Volsces, he led his army presently from thence unto the cittie of Sutrium. For he had not yet harde of their misfortune. Therefore he hasted him self to ayde them, bicause he thought they were yet besieged by the Thuscans. But suche was their harde fortune, that they had already yelded up their cittie by composition, and saved no parte of their

Camillus stratageame against the Latines and Volsces.

Camillus slue the Latines.

Camillus tooke the citie of Æques.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

goodes, but the very clothes they had on their backs. So being turned out of all they had, they met Camillus by the waye as they were wandring abroad, lamenting their miserie, with their wives and litle young children: whose miserie went to the very harte of Camillus, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he sawe the Romaines weepe for pittie also, to see the mone that these unfortunate people made unto him, and that it greved them hartely to beholde their great mischaunce: he determined with him self not to deferre revenge, but presently to goe the selfe same daye before the cittie of Sutrium, imagining that he should finde the Thuscans out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good cheere, bicause they had newly taken a wealthy riche cittie, where they had left never an enemy in the same to hurte them, neither feared any abroad to come neere to assaulte them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he gessed. For he had not only passed through the territories of the cittie, without any intelligence geven to the enemies within the same: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walles, before they hard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept watch nor warde, but were dispersed abroade in the cittie, in every house, eating and drincking droncke together. Insomuch as when they knew their enemies were already within the cittie, they were so full fraight with meate and wine, that the most of their wittes served them not so much as to flye, but taried untill they were slaine or taken, like beastes in the houses. Thus was the cittie of Sutrium twise taken in one daye. And it chaunced that those which had wonne it, lost it: and those which had lost it, recovered it againe by Camillus meanes. Who deserved both the honour and entrie of triumphe into Rome: the which wanne him no lesse good will and glorie, then the two first before had done prayse, and gotten fame. For even his greatest enemies that most spighted and envied his former noble actes, ascribing them rather to fortune that favored him, then to his valliantnes or worthines: were forced nowe by this deede of his to confesse, that his wisedome and valliantnes deserved prayse and commendation to the skyes. Camillus of all his enemies had one

Camillus wanne the citie of Sutrium.

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most bitter to him, which was Marcus Manlius, that was the first man that gave the Gaules the repulse that night they had entered the walles of the Capitoll, and had thought to have taken it: whereupon they gave him the surname of Capitolinus. He aspiring to be the chief of the cittie, and finding no direct waye to exceede the glory of Camillus, tooke the broade highe waye of them that practise tyrannie. For he beganne to flatter the common people, and specially those that were indebted: he tooke upon him to defende their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debters out of the creditours handes and caried them awaye by force, that for lacke of abilitie to paye, were by rigour of the lawe condemned to be bonde slaves. But by this practise, in shorte time he gotte him a marvelous number of suche needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honest cittizens were affrayed of the insolent partes they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumultes they daylie stirred up in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they dyd choose Quintus Capitolinus Dictator: who caused the sayed Manlius immediately to be apprehended, and committed him to prison. Whereupon the people beganne to chaunge their apparell: which they were never wont to doe, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing least some commotion would ryse hereupon, they dyd set him at libertie againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wiser thereby, but dyd still stirre up the commons, more boldely and seditiously, then before. Then was Camillus chosen againe *Tribunus militaris*, and Manlius was accused in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the sight of the Capitoll troubled his accusers much. For the very place it selfe where Manlius had repulsed the Gaules by night, and defended the Capitoll, was easely seene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he him selfe pointing with his hande, shewed the place unto the goddes, and weeping tenderly he layed before them the remembraunce of the hazarde of his life, in fighting for their safety. This dyd move the judges hartes to pittie, so as they knew not what to

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus moveth sedition.

Flattery and hypocrisie winneth the multitude and common people.

Manlius clapt in prison by Q. Capitolinus Dictator.

Camillus chosen againe *Tribunus militaris*.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

doe, but many times they dyd put over the hearing of his case unto another daye, and neither would they geve judgement, knowing he was convicted by manifest proofes: neither could they use the severitie of the lawe upon him, bicause the place of his so notable good service was ever still before their eyes. Wherefore Camillus finding the cause of delaye of justice, dyd make the place of judgement to be removed without the cittie, into a place called the wodde Petelian, from whence they could not see the Capitoll. And there the accusers gave apparent evidence against him: and the judges considering all his wicked practises, conceaved a just cause to punishe him, as he had deserved. So they gave sentence of death against him: that he should be caried to the mount Capitoll, and there to be throwen downe hedlonge the rockes thereof. Thus, one, and the selfe place was a memory of his notable good service, and also a memoriall of his miserable and unfortunate end. Besides all this, they rased his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddesse they call Moneta: and made a lawe also, that no Patrician from thenceforth should dwell any more in the mount Capitoll. Camillus after this, being called againe to take the office of *Tribunus militaris* the sixt time: he sought to excuse him selfe aswell for that he sawe he was well stepte in yeres, as also for that he feared fortunes spight, or some mishappe, after he had obteined such glorie for his noble actes and service. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sickenes, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allowe no excuse by any meanes, but cried out, they dyd not desire he should fight a foote nor a horse backe, but that he should only geve counsaill, and commaunde: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named Lucius Furius, against their enemies the Prænestines, and the Volsces, who joyning together, dyd invade the confines of the Romaines friendes. So he led his army out immediately to the field, and camped as neere the enemy as he could: being minded for his parte to drawe the warres out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if neede required) when he had recovered strength. But Furius

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus put to death.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

contrarilie coveting glorie, was whottely bent to hazarde the battell, whatsoever perill came of it: and to this ende he sturred up, and incoraged the captaines of everie private bande. Wherfore Camillus fearing least they should thinke, for ill will he bare the young men, that he went about to hinder and take awaye the meanes to winne their honour, and to doe some noble acte: suffered Furius against his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane season by reason of his sicknes, remained with a fewe about him in the campe. So went Lucius upon a head to present battell to the enemie, and so was he as headilie also overthrowen. But Camillus hearing the Romaines were overthrowen: sicke as he was upon his bedde, got up, and taking his householde servantes with him, he went in haste to the gates of the campe, and passed through those that fled, untill he came to mete with the enemies that had them in chase. The Romaines seeing this that were already entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they sawe him, they gathered together, and put them selves againe in arraye before him, and persuaded one another not to forsake their captaine. So their enemies hereupon stayed their chasing, and would pursue no further that daye. But the next morning, Camillus leading his armie into the fielde, gave them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victorie harde, he entred amongest them that fled into their campe pelmel, or hand overheade, and slue the most parte of them even there. After this victorie, he was advertised howe the Thuscans had taken the cittie of Sutrium, and had put to the sworde all the inhabitants of the same, which were the Romaines cittizens. Whereupon he sent to Rome the greatest parte of his army, and keeping with him the lightest and lustiest men, went and gave assaulte unto the Thuscans, that nowe were harbored in the cittie of Sutrium. Which when he had wonne againe, he slue parte of them, and the other saved them selves by flight. After this, he returned to Rome with an exceeding spoyle, confirming by experience, the wisedome of the Romaines, who dyd not feare the age

Lucius Furius gave battell to the Prænestines and Volsces, and was overthrowen.

Camillus wanne the fielde of the Prænestines and Volsces.

Camillus slue the Thuscans at Sutrium.

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FURIUS CAMILLUS

nor sicknes of a good captaine that was experte and valliant: but had chosen him against his will, though he was both olde and sicke, and preferred him farre before the younger and lustier that made sute to have the charge. Newes being brought unto the Senate, that the Thusculanians were revolted, they sent Camillus thither againe, willing him of five other companions to take out one he liked best, every of the which desired to be chosen, and made their sute unto him for the same. But he refusing all other, dyd chose againe Lucius Furius beyounde all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needes would against his will hazarde battell, in which he was overthrowen. Howbeit Camillus, having a desire (as I thincke) to hyde his faulte and shame he had receaved: dyd of curtesie preferre him before all other. Nowe the Thusculanians hearing of Camillus coming against them, subtilly sought to culler the faulte they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, some to plowe, other to keepe the beastes, as if they had bene in best peace: and dyd set the gates of the cittie wide open, sent their children openly to schoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their shoppes, the men of haviour and honest cittizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, and the officers and governours of the cittie went up and downe to every house, commaunding them to prepare lodgings for the Romaines, as if they had stoode in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no faulte. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make Camillus beleeve, but that they had an intent to rebell against the Romaines: yet they made Camillus pittie them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to Rome to the Senate, to crave pardone of their faulte: and he him selfe dyd helpe them, not only to purge their cittie of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the priviledge and freedome of Rome. And these be the chiefest acts Camillus dyd in the sixt time of his tribuneshippe. After this, one Licinius Stolo moved great sedition in the cittie, betwene the common people, and the Senate. For he would in any case that of the two Consuls, which were

Camillus sent again against the Thusculanians.

The crafte of the Thusculanians.

Great sedition moved in Rome by Licinius Stolo.

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chosen yerely, the one of them should be a commoner, and not that both of them should be of the auncient noble families, called Patricians. The Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the election of the Consuls, the people stayed: so that the common wealth went to decaye, and declined to greater troubles, then ever it dyd before, for lacke of government. But to suppresse this, the Senate created Camillus the fourth time Dictator: but this was sore against his will, bicause it misliked the people muche. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they having served under him in many warres and battells, might boldely, and truely saye unto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the warres, then he had done by the Patricians in peace. Yet was he created Dictator in despight, to rule the people, and of envie in the noble men towards them. Thus necessitie dyd urge him, either by force to suppresse the people, if he were the stronger in this dissention: or els that he him self should be suppressed, if he became the weaker. Camillus notwithstanding, preparing to prevent this mischief, and knowing the daye the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the passing of their lawe by voyces of the people: he gave warning by proclamations set upon postes, that the same very daye he would muster the people, and all was but to drawe them from the market place into the field of Mars, and dyd set great penalties upon those that should be lacking at the musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrarie parte, dyd withstande his threates, and sware they would condemne Camillus selfe in fiftie thousand Drachmas of silver, if he dyd not let the people alone, but would goe about to disturbe them for geving their voyces to such lawe, as they liked of. Camillus perceaving this, and fearing to be condemned, and banished once againe, which would fall out very ill for him, being nowe an olde man, and one that had done so many great and notable actes, or els for that he thought him selfe not strong enough to withstande the force of the people: he kept his house that daye, fayning him selfe to be sicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in the ende he gave up

Camillus created Dictator the fourth time.

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his office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another Dictator, who named the same Licinius Stolo general of the horse men, that was the author and furtherer of all this sedition: and besides dyd suffer him to preferre another lawe, and to passe it by voyces of the people, that above all other lawes, dyd most trouble the Patricians. Which lawe dyd forbid any cittizen of Rome, to have, or occupie above five hundred jugera, which amount to 330 acres and a halfe, 12 pole, and 121 partes of a pole. Then was this Stolo alofte, and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despite of the Senate established this law. Howbeit shortely after it was found out, that him self had more number of acres then his owne lawe permitted. By reason whereof, he receaved the juste punishment of his owne devised forfaiture. Yet the most weightie matter of all this dissention that beganne first, and most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Consuls, remained still undetermined. But while these matters were thus in talke, the Romaines had certen intelligence, howe the Gaules were departed once againe from the Adriaticke sea, and were coming with a great power straight unto Rome: upon reporte of which newes, the warres followed immediately. For the Gaules destroyed the champion country as they went: and the poore country men that could not recover Rome, were scattered here and there amongest the mountaines. The feare of this dyd somewhat appease the dissention. The people then assembling with the Senate, and the baser sorte with the noble, dyd all with one voyce and assent chuse Camillus Dictator the fifte time. He was nowe a very olde man, lacking litle of foure score yeres: but nevertheles, considering the necessitie and present daunger, without framing any excuse, or starting as he had before, he undertooke the charge. Nowe that he had taken it upon him, he presently levied men, and prepared his army. And knowing very well howe the fiercenes of these barbarous Gaules consisted, in downe right blowes with their swordes, with which they would strike of heades and shoulders of men at a blowe, mangling them like bouchers, without any cast or skyll of fight: he caused iron salletts, and morians to

Licinius Stolo made a lawe for enjoying of landes.

Stolo the first offender of the same law.

The Gaules come againe to Rome.

Camillus chosen Dictator the 5 time.

Howe Camillus appointed his souldiers with armour and weapon to fight with advantage against the Gaules.

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be made for the most of his men, as smoothely wrought on the out side as could be, that their swordes lighting on them, should either slyde of, or breake. Moreover, he caused their sheldes to have barres made about them of copper, bicause the wodde selfe was not able to abide their blowes. Furthermore, he dyd teache his souldiers to cary long javelines or punchion staves, wherewith they might wounde their enemies lifting up their swordes to strike them. Nowe when the Gaules were come neere Rome, having pitched their campe upon the river of Anian, and being full loden and stuffed with all kindes of spoyle and booties: then Camillus brought his armie also into the fielde, and went to lodge on a litle hill which was easie to get upon, where there were many litle caves, so that the most of his army was all hidden and covered, and those that were seene, seemed to be retired thither into those highe places for an advantage, and of feare. Camillus to increase this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder: dyd suffer them to come and spoyle even to the foote of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept him selfe quiet in his campe and well fortified. Untill such time as he spyed occasion of advantage, that the best parte of their army were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the fieldes: and those which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drincking, as they used carelesly at all howres. Then Camillus sent very early before daye, his lightest armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in coming out of their campe, and to let them in any case from putting their men in order of battell: and he at the breake of daye, came downe into the plaine, and dyd set his other men being well armed, in good arraye, which were a great number, and lustie fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, fewe, and fearefull. This at the very first discoraged the hartes of the Gaules marvelously, bicause they thought them selves dishonored, that the Romaines should charge upon them first. Afterwardes also Camillus vantgarde dyd set upon the Gaules, and that on a sodaine, before they had leysure to put them selves in battell, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order,

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as they met out of order by chaunce. In the ende also, Camillus came upon the neckes of them, with all his whole force, and army together: against whom they ranne notwithstanding, holding up their naked swordes alofte in their handes. But the Romaines thrusting with their armed javelinges, receaved their enemies blowes upon them, and thereby so rebated the edges of their swordes (their blades being very sharpe and thinne grounde, and of so softe a temper) that they bowed againe, and stoode crooked unreasonably: and furthermore, having persed their shieldes through with their punchingstaves, the Gaules armes were so clogd and wearied with them, the Romaines plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their swordes and shieldes, and flying in, closed with the Romaines, and caught holde of their javelines, thincking by plaine force to have wrested them out of their handes. Howbeit they perceaving then the Gaules were naked, fell straight to their swordes: and so was the slaughter of their first ranckes very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all about the plaine: bicause Camillus had caused all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither dyd they retire towardes their campe, for that it was unfortified, and also knewe well enough it would be easely taken. This battell (as they saye) was thirteene yeres after their taking of Rome before. But after that fielde, the Romaines corages were good enough against these barbarous Gaules, whom they stoode in feare of before: thincking the first time they came, that they had not overcomed them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongest them, or through some other straunge chaunce. For they dyd so feare them at that time, that they made a lawe, howe their priestes should be exempted from warres, so it were not against the Gaules. This overthrowe was the last marshall acte Camillus dyd in the warres. For, the taking of the cittie of Velitres, was an accident depending upon this jorney: bicause they yelded straight unto him, without striking any stroke. But the seditiousnes of the people of Rome about government, and the choosing of the yere Consuls, was the hardest matter he ever had in hande. For

Camillus slue the Gaules againe.

The Romaines howe they exempted priestes from the warres.

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they returning home to Rome stronge, and of greate power, by their late obteined victorie: woulde in any case have one of the Consuls to be chosen of a commoner, which was directly against their auncient custome. But the Senate stowtely withstoode it, and would not suffer Camillus to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authoritie, which was greate then, that they should mainteine and continue their auncient dignitie, and prerogative of their nobilitie. But as Camillus was set in his chayer in the market place, where he hearde and dispatched causes: there came a sergeante to him, sent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to followe him, and there withall layed violent handes upon him, as he woulde have caried him awaye by force. This made suche a terrible tumulte and uprore, that the like was never seene before in the market place. For Camillus friendes drave the sergeaunte backe behinde the chayer. The common people cried out againe to the sergeant from beneath: Pull him out of his chayer. This so amazed Camillus, that he knew not well what to saye to the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resigne up his office, but taking those Senatours he had about him, he went unto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would goe into it, he returned backe againe unto the Capitoll, and made his prayer unto the goddes, that it would please them to bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and so made a solemne vowe and promise (if these tumultes and troubles might be pacified) that he woulde builde a temple of Concorde. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and diversitie of opinions among them: yet in the ende, the easiest waye dyd carie it, and that was to graunt the common peoples desire, that a commoner should be chosen Consul with a noble man. The Dictator having openly published to the people the Senates decree, confirming their desire: the common people were so joyfull, that at that presente they let fall all their malice against the Nobilitie and Senate, and brought Camillus home to his house, with greate showtes of joye, and clapping of handes. The next morning all the people being assembled together

Sedition at Rome about choosing of Consuls.

Policy to yeld to necessitie.

A commoner chosen Consul with a noble man.

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in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of concorde should be built at the common wealthes charge (according to the vowe Camillus had made) in such a place, as it might be seene from the market place selfe, where all the assemblies for matters of counsell were made. And further, it was ordered that one daye more should be added to the feastes of the Latines: and that from thenceforth they should solemnise foure festivall dayes, and should presently make generall sacrifices unto the goddes, in everie temple of the cittie, to geve them thanckes: and in token of joye, they should all weare garlands upon their heades for this reconciliation. So Camillus proceeding to election, there were chosen two Consuls, Marcus Æmilius of the noble Patricians, and Lucius Sextus of the Plebeians or commoners. And this was the laste acte that ever Camillus dyd. For, the next yere after, the plague was in Rome, and tooke awaye an infinite number of people that dyed, besides many magistrates and officers of the cittie that departed: among whom, Camillus also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had lived a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life: yet he was as ready to dye, and as paciently tooke his death, as any man living could have done. Moreover, the Romaines made more mone and lamentation for his deathe alone, then for all the rest the plague had already consumed.

Marcus Æmilius, Lucius Sextus Consuls.

Camillus died of the plague.

THE ENDE OF FURIUS CAMILLUS LIFE

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